

E 133

.V5 S6

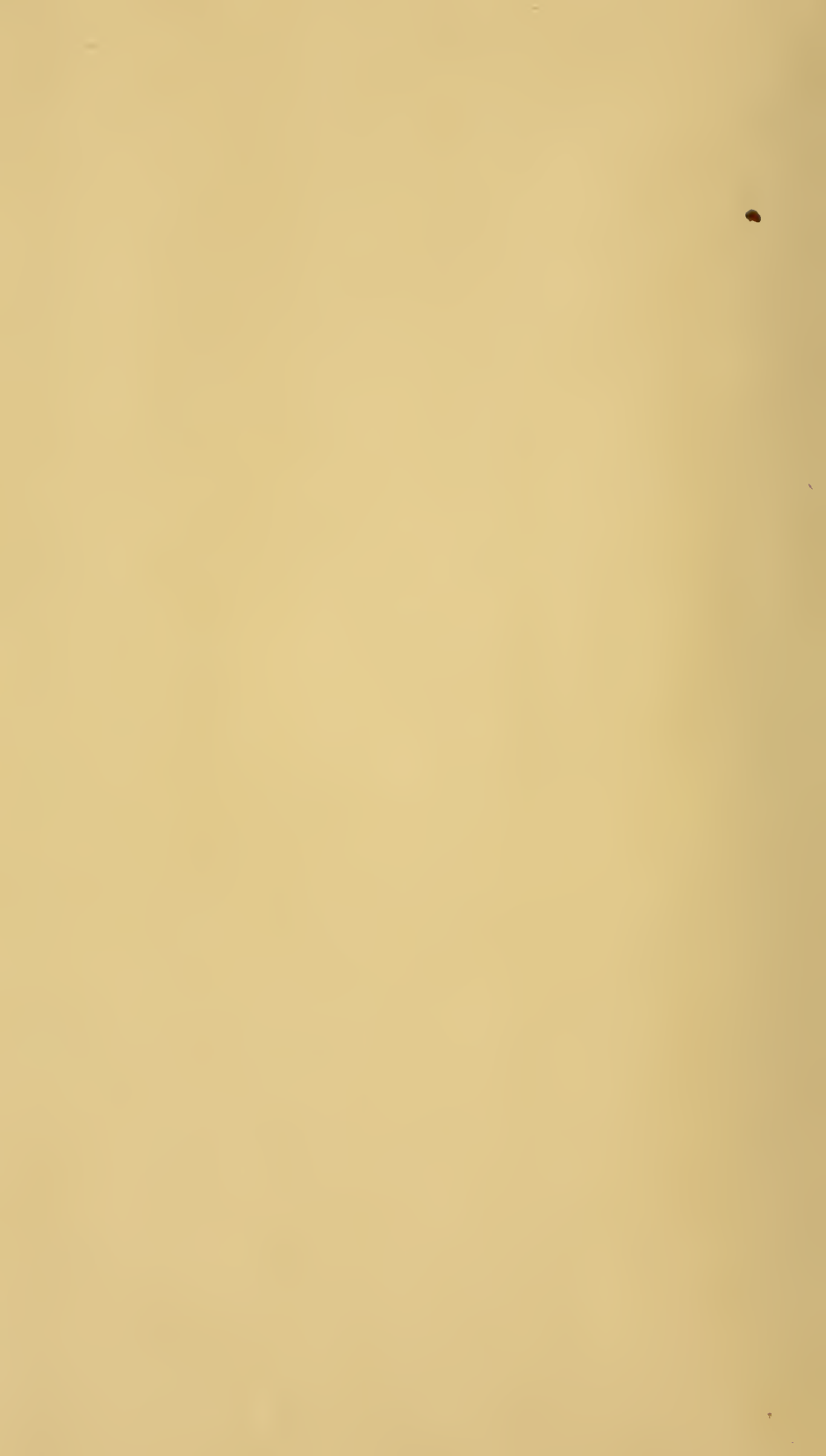
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



00003614967











An Inquiry

INTO THE

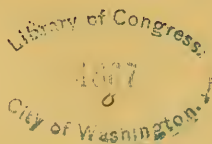
AUTHENTICITY OF DOCUMENTS CONCERNING A DISCOVERY
IN NORTH AMERICA CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN
MADE BY VERRAZZANO.

READ BEFORE THE

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4TH, 1864.

BY BUCKINGHAM^V SMITH, 1810-1871.



NEW-YORK:
PRINTED BY JOHN F. TROW.
M DCCC LXIV.

For the

/ Hon. Peter Force

With the best regards of

Geo. H. Moore

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1864, by
GEORGE H. MOORE,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of
New York.

8-1-26
TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES PRINTED.

TO
HENRY C. MURPHY
OF LONG-ISLAND,
THIS CRITIQUE
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY HIS FRIEND,
BUCKINGHAM SMITH.



AN INQUIRY, ETC.*

THE earliest discovery of the French in America is attributed to Giovanni Verrazzano. He is reported to have made more than one voyage to the northern continent. As an officer in the privateer service of Francis First, or corsair, as the Spaniards aver, under the *nom de guerre* of Juan Florentin, he gained great celebrity. He was the first who appeared on the seas in the neighborhood of the Canaries, since the conquest of those islands, to depredate upon Spanish shipping, seizing in 1522 upon seven vessel loads of colonists, with their goods and stores, from Cadiz; but being forced to release them by some armed barges sent out from the harbor of Luz, which encountered him at the Cape of Gando, he fled northward.† In the year 1523 he captured two vessels coming from the Azores, on their passage from Mexico to Spain, in charge

* Relatione di Giovanni da Verrazzano Fiorentino, della terra per lui scoperta in nome di sua Maestà, scritta in Dieppa, adi 8. Luglio. M.D.XXIII. (Navigazioni et Viaggi da Giovanni-Battista Ramusio. III.vol. fol. Venetia. Tomo III., M.D.LVI.)

The voyage of John de Verazzano, along the coast of North America, from Carolina to Newfoundland, A. D. 1524. Translated from the original Italian by Joseph G. Cogswell, Esq., Member of the N. Y. Historical Society, &c. (Collections of the New York Historical Society. Second series. Vol. I. New York. 1841.)

Lettera di Fernando Carli a suo padre. (Archivo Storico Italiano ossia raccolta di opere e documenti finora inediti o divenuti rarissimi risguardanti la storia d'Italia. Appendice. Tomo IX. Firenze. Gio. Pietro Vieusseux, direttore-editore al suo Gabinetto Scientifico-Litterario. 1853.)

† Viera Noticias de la Historia General de las Islas de Canaria. 1773. Tomo II. § xli. He wrote on the authority of early and original papers.

of Alonzo de Avila, which were in part freighted with the second gift of Cortez and his followers sent to Charles Fifth. It was the richest of everything to be found in New Spain, writes the *conquistador* Bernal Diaz del Castillo ; it consisted of the armor and jewels of Moctezuma, Quauhtemóc, and of the great lords of the country. These prizes enabled the captor to make presents of interest and extraordinary value to the king and nobility of France, and in the same year to return to sea with a well-appointed fleet.

The introduction to the knowledge of the public, of a discovery in America made by Verrazzano, was given in the form of a letter purporting to come from his hand, dated at Dieppe, the 8th day of July of the year 1524. It was directed to the king of France, who was at that time with an army on the way to Provence, to the people of which department he had written from Amboise, near Tours, on the 22d day of June, that he was steadily advancing to their relief. A few months later, Louise, the mother of Francis, was invested by him with the regency on his way to Italy ; and Philippe de Chabot in the next year was appointed Grand Admiral of France, a position he continued to fill thenceforth for nearly a quarter of a century. The publication of Verrazzano's letter was made for the first time in 1556, at Venice, in the third volume of Ramusio, a year before the decease of that well-known collector of historical narrative. Francis I. had then been dead nine years, Chabot, the Minister of Marine, fourteen years, and the ambitious Louise still longer.

In the reign of this chivalric prince, a period of more than thirty-two years, in which literature and science flourished, the arts of peace as well as of war were encouraged, and all that appertained to glory was cherished, the founding of colonies was attempted, and one was successfully established in Canada ; yet no annal, or document of any sort of that time, has ever been adduced in proof of

the discovery claimed to have been made by this ancient letter. In the same age, from the year 1523 to 1534, an illustrious Florentine, Julius of Medicis, held the papal throne ; and though leagued with France, and an enricher of the library of the Vatican,[†] among his many letters (those to the king and Charles Fifth, written in the year 1527 still existing also), he left no allusion to that event.

In a species of book tradition coming to our times through Tiraboschi and the *Biographie Universelle*, the memory of a paper by Verrazzano has been perpetuated, to be found in the Strozzi library of Florence. An American, who examined it some five and twenty years since in the Migliabechia collection, to which it had been transferred, states the character of the writing to be of the sixteenth century, that with it is a letter of Fernando Carli, dated at Lyons, directed to his father at Florence, and also in the volume other miscellaneous matter in the same hand.* Hence it appears that this letter to the king of France is not the original manuscript, that it is written in the Italian language, and bears the signature JANUS VERRAZZANUS. In substance it is nearly the same as the transcript, signed GIOUANNI VERRAZZANO, for such that published long before by Ramusio is supposed to be, who says in reference to it, that he had not been able to procure anything more on the subject.

Some of those differences will prove instructive, unless we shall adopt the authority of Alcedo in his *Biblioteca Americana*, who states that the letter was originally written in French, which will account for the marked differences of style and language of the two translations into Italian. No such inference, however, is borne out from anything to be found in the letter of Carli. Upon the strong features in the account, as they appear in both versions, and in view of the circumstances of the time at

* North American Review, for October, 1837 : Article—"The Life and Voyages of Verrazzano."

which it purports to have been written, we may judge, in the light of our later experience, of its probable authenticity and truth.

The letter of Verrazzano begins by his informing the king that he had not written to him respecting the storm encountered on the northern coast, with the four ships sent out by his order to discover new lands, which had compelled him to put into Brittany in distress, with only the Normanda and Dalfina, and having refitted these vessels there, he had taken them, well armed, on a cruise along the coast of Spain ; of all which his Majesty must have heard, he continues, as well as of his later plan of proceeding to accomplish the purpose of the voyage with a single vessel.

According to the recital, the Dalfina took her departure on the 17th day of January, of the year 1524, from the islet, *deserto scopulo propinquo alla isola*, southeast of Madeira, with fifty men, having arms and subsistence for eight months. Sailing to the westward, with a light breeze, at the end of twenty-five days, having run eight hundred leagues, she rode out a hurricane, through the Divine assistance and the good fortune of her name (dauphiness), as violent as good ship ever weathered. Pursuing a course now a little northwardly of west, about the 7th of March Verrazzano made a land, as he declares, never before seen. It appeared to be very low ; and drawing nigh, to within a quarter of a league of the shore, fires were seen to rise there, whence it was known to be inhabited. He followed the coast, stretching to the south, in search of a port where he might survey the country ; but finding no such place that afforded a secure harbor, at the end of fifty leagues the course of the vessel was turned in the opposite direction. Drawing in with the shore, a boat was sent to land, which the natives came out to meet, and then fled away ; but being reassured, they returned, offering food to the strangers and pointing out a safe place for the boat. There is nothing unusual,

save as to their color, in the account given of the natives. In this instance the hair is described as black, not very long, and tied back upon the head in the form of a little tail.

The coast is described as of fine sand, rising about fifteen feet into hills with a circumference of fifty paces. A little way back were several arms of the sea, where the water rose through islets, washing the banks on both sides. Just over the sandy shore appeared beautiful plains and forests of immense trees, in some places open, in others dense, having a variety of colored foliage. There were palms, laurels, cypresses, and other trees unknown in Europe, which, for the want of opportunity, were not examined. This was in latitude 34° north of the equator, the land first seen twenty-eight miles above Cape Fear. Here were deer, hares, and other animals, and a great variety of the feathered tribes; the air was pure and salubrious, free from extremes of temperature. Lakes and ponds of running water abounded. The sky was clear; little rain fell; and if at any time fogs or mists were driven in by the south wind, they were soon dissipated and the earth made bright again.

Continuing along the shore to the west, as the vessel advanced the inhabitants kindled many fires. At one place, fresh water having been sent for, a young sailor swam from the boat toward the shore with some presents, and half drowned by the surf was rescued by the natives. He reported that they were black, with shiny skins, like those which had been seen before.

Still following the coast, which stretched to the north, at the end of fifty leagues the voyagers came to a beautiful country covered with the largest forests. Going on shore, the natives were found to have fled, even at the distance of two leagues from the sea; a few only were found concealed, from among whom a little boy was chosen to take to France. In complexion they were fairer than the

others, and the women, for they saw no men, wore a covering made of a certain plant hanging from the branches of trees, which they united with thread of wild hemp. Their food was a kind of pulse that was plentiful and delightful in flavor, differing in color and size from that of France. Birds were taken in snares for food, and fish killed with bows of hard wood, having the arrows of reed pointed with bone. Many boats were seen twenty feet in length, made of a single log, hollowed out by burning, without the use of any instrument. Grapes grew wild, twining about trees, as the vines do in Lombardy. They were evidently held in estimation, as the thicket was found carefully removed about them, to allow the fruit better to ripen. Roses, lilies and violets were observed, and some flowers that were not known.

After having remained three days riding at anchor on the coast, the course was again taken up, running to the northeast along the shore for a hundred leagues, the vessels sailing in the daytime only, and casting anchor at night. In all that country, extending the distance of two hundred leagues, no stone was found of any sort.

As the first land recognizable by the description, the entrance to New York harbor, now approaches, it will be a convenient moment to look back over the first half of the narrative, from which the most probable facts have already been recited. The general character of the land and its vegetation, could have been so correctly described only from actual information ; other statements will now be given that have been omitted for their improbability or their error. As to distances, it is proper to remember that little confidence can be placed in early accounts ; the log was unknown until about 1577, and after it was discovered, was not correctly marked until the year 1635. During the interval, vessels depending on it would under-rate their true distance one fifth. In sailing along the shore, after making the land in 34° of latitude, having the

port to starboard, as the coast thence trends southwesterly, the vessel could not, in fifty leagues, have gone over a degree and a half southward.

The *Dalfina* sailed two thirds of the voyage across the ocean from the Desertas, coast of Africa, in latitude $32^{\circ} 44'$, due west, until within four degrees of the Bermudas ; and in making the slight deviation afterwards from that line, which brought the landfall in 34° , her course was not so far from those islands, standing between $32^{\circ} 8'$ and $32^{\circ} 34'$, that she might not have been in sight of them. This may be of doubtful importance, that they were not discovered, particularly as the vessel encountered a storm on coming into the trade wind ; still it is to be remarked, that nothing is said which would imply a knowledge of their existence, although they had then been discovered nearly two years, a fact that could hardly escape the attention of a pilot having to move in their direction. Of the four courses taken, from the time of arrival, along the land, three of them are wrong. The vessel first sailed south fifty leagues, instead of southwest, and returned ; thence west instead of north-northwest, from Cape Henry, then north fifty leagues instead of northeast, and finally northeast one hundred leagues, sailing, for a better view of the land, as has been said, only by day, and favored by an open sky ; yet in that leisurely exploration, no cape or inlet was seen, no place named, no berth found, where a vessel could anchor in safety. Equally wide of the truth, in fact, is the description of the coast, as being so bold that within four or five fathoms of the shore there are twenty-four feet of water at all tides, and the depth constantly increasing in a uniform proportion toward the sea. These are not such mistakes as could have been made by a sailor taking no more than an ordinary interest in a new country along which he was passing for the first time ; they are more like such facts as might be invented and thrown in among the observations found in the memoran-

dum book of a landsman. What would have come within his vision is well portrayed : the sand hills, the absence of stone that he could discover, the grand forests having the laurel and the palm, the wild roses and heartsease, the aroma of vegetation, the cane arrows, the beasts, the birds and the means for taking them, the noble grape vines ascending, and the long moss hanging from the oaks, of which the women made their partial garments, using the thread of the wild aloe—these are naturally told without exaggeration or error, as they would address themselves to the senses. But once he saw some creeks, where the boat upon a time went to land. The complexions of the Indians are none of his coloring. The fault, thirty years after the paper pretends to have been written, we may suppose had come within the knowledge of Ramusio, and does not appear to have escaped his attention ; but otherwise he may have seen no reason to discredit the paper, and believed it a memorial worth preserving. Hence it is, perhaps, that the natives, in the account he published, are not *neri*, black, nor differing in little from “Ethiopians,” but are *berretini*, brown, not much differing from “Saracens ;” no more are they, in another region, *bianchissimo*, very white, but rather *bronzino*, of a coppery hue. So of the grapes that were often eaten and found to be sweet ; as the voyagers discovered the country in March, and were back again to France early in July, before the fruit could have been more than half grown, they are spoken of as raisins. In the early part of March, the time is also spoken of as summer. Had the Dalfina taken her departure from Europe at the time that voyages to the northern parts of America were commenced in those days, whether for fishing, traffic, or on discovery, about the end of April or beginning of March, instead of midwinter, the “summer” would have fallen in one of its proper months, the flowers might have been seen to bloom in their usual season, the fruit eaten ripe, and the trees of colored foliage

witnessed in autumn. Thus the dates generally given in the letter appear to be, in relation to the matters that are named, three months in advance of their natural season.

The vessel is now supposed to draw nigh to New York :

“After proceeding one hundred leagues, we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took a boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colors. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals. Weighing anchor we sailed eighty leagues toward the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it; at length we discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the main land, in size about equal to the Island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees, and well peopled, judging from the great number of fires which we saw all around its shores; we gave it the name of your Majesty’s illustrious mother.”

The island just seen is considered to be Block; and the description which follows is said to be an excellent one of Narraganset Bay and the harbor of Newport.*

“We did not land there, as the weather was unfavorable, but proceeded to another place, fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a

* Providence Daily Journal : article published in January 1855. The opinion, however, is not uniform. Dr. Belknap says that by the description the harbor of New York must be intended, and Dr. Samuel Miller that it applies with more probability to the harbor of New York than to any other; but he adds: “The truth is, there are some difficulties to be surmounted in applying the description to either.” (*Discourse before the New York Historical Soc.*, vol. i.)

very excellent harbor. Before entering it, we saw about twenty small boats full of people, who came about our ship, uttering many cries of astonishment, but they would not approach nearer than within fifty paces—* * *. We often went five or six leagues into the interior, and found the country as pleasant as is possible to conceive, adapted to cultivation of every kind, whether of corn, wine or oil; there are open plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in extent, entirely free from trees or other hindrances, and of so great fertility that whatever is sown there will yield an excellent crop. On entering the woods, we observed that they might all be traversed by an army ever so numerous; the trees of which they were composed were oaks, cypresses, and others unknown to Europe. We found also apples, plums, filberts, and many other fruits; but all of a different kind from ours. The animals, which are in great numbers, as stags, deer, lynxes, and many other species, are taken by snares, and by bows, the latter being their chief implement; their arrows are wrought with great beauty, and for the heads of them they use emery, jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones, in the place of iron. They also use the same kind of sharp stones in cutting down trees, and with them they construct their boats of single logs, hollowed out with admirable skill, and sufficiently commodious to contain ten or twelve persons; * * *. There is no doubt that they would build stately edifices if they had workmen as skilful as ours; for the whole sea-coast abounds in shining stones, crystals, and alabaster, and for the same reason it has holes and retreats for animals. * * * This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being $41^{\circ} 40'$ of north latitude; but much colder from accidental circumstances, and not by nature, as I shall hereafter explain to your Majesty, and confine myself at present to the description of its local situation. It looks towards the south, on which side the harbor is half a league broad; afterwards upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north is twelve leagues, and then enlarging itself it forms a very large bay twenty leagues in circumference, in which are five small islands, of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely, without fear of tempests or other dangers. Turning towards the south, at the entrance of the harbor, on both sides, there are very pleasant hills, and many streams of clear water, which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance, there is a rock of freestone, formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbor."

The island, ten leagues from the main land, does not describe Block, which is not above five; nor in size is it like Rhodes, which is nearly one third that of Long Island in area. Neither has it many hills, like that classic isle, nor indeed any; it has, however, a somewhat triangular form, and was formerly well wooded. Its

distance from New York, instead of being eighty, is about forty leagues.*

And here it may be well to take notice of a version of this letter in English, printed by Hakluyt in 1582, translated from Ramusio. The text sets forth the distance of the island from the main land to be three leagues instead of ten, according to both the Italian copies, and on the margin is a note, to the effect that this is the Island of Claudia. The name Claude is not that of the queen mother, for whom the letter states the island to have been called, but that of the wife of the king. The introduction declares that the plot in the end of the book is made according to John Verarzanus, who had been thrice on the coast, and gave an excellent old map of it to Henry VIII. ; but, be that as it may, in the same manner as there, the island and coast are represented on a *mapamundi* of Gerardus Mercator in the Imperial Library of Paris, four feet by six in size, printed in 1569, which correspond on Blunt's Chart to the peninsula formed about Halifax, and to the shores of Nova Scotia, better than to any other lands. Thus on the coast called Norombega, is placed that island, east of a bay marked *C. de lagus yslas*, which may be that of Fundy (*fondo* ?), west of *C. Doblada* (*costa doblada*) ; and going northward come *Esta he a terra dus Bretones*. This is the land of the Bretons ; names and words exclusively in the Portuguese language, suggesting the discoveries made early in the century.

The following is a description that answers well to the bold shores of Maine and New Brunswick, their rocks and islands, containing a fair account of the savages who once inhabited them.

" Having supplied ourselves with everything necessary, on the 6th of May we departed from the port, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues,

* As there have been some errors made in printing the translation of this letter in the New York Historical Society collection, particularly in figures, the reader should refer to the original in Italian, published with it, for correction.

keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight; the nature of the country appeared much the same as before, but the mountains were a little higher, and all in appearance rich in minerals. We did not stop to land, as the weather was very favorable for pursuing our voyage, and the country presented no variety. The shore stretched to the east, and fifty leagues beyond, more to the north, where we found a more elevated country, full of very thick woods of fir trees, cypresses, and the like, indicative of a cold climate. The people were entirely different from others we had seen, whom we had found kind and gentle, but these were so rude and barbarous that we were unable, by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals, and other animals. Their food, as far as we could judge by several visits to their dwellings, is obtained by hunting and fishing, and certain fruits, which are a sort of root of spontaneous growth. They have no pulse, and we saw no signs of cultivation; the land appears sterile and unfit for growing of fruit or grain of any kind. If we wished at any time to traffic with them, they came to the sea shore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord to our boats beneath whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us that which was to be given in exchange; they took from us only knives, fish-hooks, and sharpened steel. No regard was paid to our courtesies; when we had nothing left to exchange with them, the men at our departure made the most brutal signs of disdain and contempt possible. Against their will we penetrated two or three leagues into the interior with twenty-five men; when we came to the shore they shot at us with their arrows, raising the most horrible cries and afterwards fleeing to the woods. In their region we found nothing extraordinary except vast forests and some metalliferous hills, as we infer from seeing that many of the people wore copper ear-rings. Departing from thence, we kept along the coast, steering northeast, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from woods; and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains, but none which extended to the shore. Within fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the main land, small and of pleasant appearance, but high and so disposed as to afford excellent harbors and channels, as we see in the Adriatic Gulf, near Illyria and Dalmatia. We had no intercourse with the people, but we judge that they were similar in nature and usages to those we were last among. After sailing between east and north the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues more, and finding our provisions and naval stores nearly exhausted, we took in wood and water, and determined to return to France, having discovered 502 leagues, that is 700 leagues, more of unknown lands."

The foregoing passages are the most remarkable in the whole letter. After leaving Narraganset Bay, Verazzano sailed one hundred and fifty leagues, keeping so close to the shore as never to lose sight of it, and the

nature of the country appeared much the same as before ; consequently it would seem that he went outside of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket not to have discerned their insular character, but he could not have failed to see the shoals and reefs, presenting another difficult question to answer : how could a nautical man pass those islands and Cape Cod, and not observe the difference of that low sandy coast ? How any one following the shore to Nova Scotia—in this instance a mariner on the look out for a strait opening the way to Cathay, and discovering the series of islands extending along Massachusetts Bay eastward to Cape Sable—should fail to get into the Bay of Fundy, is certainly beyond explanation ; more difficult indeed to account for, than running along the southern shores by daylight without finding Cape Hatteras, or a harbor in which a vessel could lie with safety, or not making the discovery of the entrances to Chesapeake and Delaware Bays.

Of all that extent of coast, declared to be seven hundred leagues of unknown lands, but a single locality receives a name, but a single latitude is stated, that of a region situated in the parallel of Rome, $41^{\circ} 40'$, (true distance $41^{\circ} 53' 54''$), if we shall except that of the point of return in 50° , and of arrival on the coast in 34° , which may be supposed to have been guessed at rather than ascertained, brought sailing westward with easterly winds from the Desertas. After these omissions, and rising to so high a latitude as the northeasternmost extremity of Newfoundland, no surprise can ensue at a failure to observe the great southern entrance of the *Golfo Quadrado*, (Bay of St. Lawrence,) or failing, for the discomfort of history, to notice a single smack of Breton or Norman encountered in the five degrees run of northern fisheries.*

* Some notices exist of the number and flags of vessels employed about the time in taking fish on these coasts. In the year 1527, Rutt, an English shipmaster, wrote to Henry VIII., from Newfoundland, that in the haven of St. John, where he lay, he had found eleven sail of Norman, one Breton, and two

Another circumstance worthy of remark is, that of this whole distance of coast, that part only appears to be described which is precisely the country and very nearly the amount claimed by contemporaneous history for Spain as the discovery of the Portuguese, Estevan Gomez, made the year after, 1525; that is to say, in extent from Barnegat northward nearly to the farthest limit of Nova Scotia. That pilot explored the Bay of Fundy, and named a great river flowing into it; and the gulf of islands, lying thence westward into Massachusetts Bay, was called for him, on early maps, *Archipelago de Estevan Gomez*. Both voyages were also begun in winter, an unusual season for such enterprises in those days; and that of Verrazzano was likewise made in a caravel, if we are to credit the letter of Carli only.

A portion of the letter of Verrazzano, in the copy from the Migliabechia collection, is not to be found in the one printed by Ramusio; it is a cosmographical exposition of his voyage and resumé of the extent of western discovery to that time. In it these passages occur:

“My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the newly discovered land some such an obstacle as they have proved to be, yet I did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the eastern ocean. It was the opinion of the ancients, that our oriental Indian ocean is one, without any interposing land; Aristotle supports it by arguments founded on various probabilities; but it is contrary to that of the moderns, and shown to be erroneous by experience; the country which has been discovered, and which was unknown to the ancients, is another world compared with that before known, being manifestly larger than our Europe, together with Africa, and perhaps Asia, if we rightly estimate its extent, as shall now be briefly explained to your Majesty. The Spaniards have sailed south beyond the equator on a meridian of 20 degrees west of the Fortunate Islands to the latitude of 54°, and there still found land. * * * Beyond this point (the 50th parallel of north latitude) the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic circle, without coming to the termination of land. Thus adding the degrees of south latitude explored, which are 54, to those of the north, which are

Portuguese. A report coming from the same bark, made at Porto Rico, to a Spanish officer of the sea service, was that at the Bacalaos full fifty sail of vessels, Spanish, French, and Portuguese, had been seen.

66, the sum is 120, and therefore more than are embraced in the latitude of Africa and Europe, for the north point of Norway, which is the extremity of Europe, is in 71° north, and the Cape of Good Hope, which is the southern extremity of Africa, is in 35° south, and their sum is only 106, and if the breadth of this newly discovered country corresponds to its extent of sea coast, it doubtless exceeds Asia in size. In this way we find that the land forms a much larger portion of our globe than the ancients supposed, who maintained, contrary to mathematical reasoning, that it was less than the water, whereas actual experience proves the reverse, so that we judge, in respect to extent of surface, the land covers as much space as the water; and I hope more clearly and more satisfactorily to point out and explain to your Majesty the great extent of that new land, or new world, of which I have been speaking. The continent of Asia and Africa, we know for certain, is joined to Europe at the north in Norway and Russia, which disproves the idea of the ancients that all this part had been navigated from the Cimbric Chersonesus eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. They also maintained that the whole continent was surrounded by two seas situate to the east and west of it, which seas in fact do not surround either of the two continents, for, as we have seen above, the land of the southern hemisphere at the latitude of 54° extends eastwardly an unknown distance, and that of the northern passing the 66th parallel turns to the east, and has no termination as high as the 70th."

From the foregoing, it must appear that the writer in his argument refers to the southernmost discovery of Magellan, the knowledge of which was first imparted by the return of the *Trinidad*, on the 6th of May, 1521, from the Straits; but it was not known at the time that the entrance had an outlet westward into the Southern Ocean. In estimating amounts of land and water, the sea traversed by Magellan evidently did not enter into the account, or it must have considerably altered the estimate, if it did not give an opposite proportion. The date of this information, certainly the latest, was that brought by Estevan Gomez, the returning pilot. In the year 1524, no navigator could have been ignorant of the news of that great achievement, the circumnavigation of the earth, by the arrival in Spain, on the 6th day of September, 1522, of *De Elcano* from India, which more astonished Europe than had the success of Columbus even. In the Pacific, Magellan had crossed from west to east, without obstruction, an extent of sea equal to nearly half the circumfer-

ence of the globe, and passed northward through seventy-two degrees of latitude. In that same year the islands of Bermuda were discovered, which strengthens, as with another link, the chain of argument.

Neither the discovery, nor the name of Verrazzano, is to be found in the Spanish histories of this age ; but the name and exploit of Juan Florentin in taking the Mexican treasure, had a wide celebrity. This silence appears to have been first broken there at the close of the sixteenth century, by Alonzo de Herrera, in the *Decadas de Indias*, where he has sketched an outline of the voyage, it would appear from Ramusio.

Barcia, in the *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia de la Florida*, notices this resumen, and says, under the proper head of 1524, that in this year Verrazzano, after having been greatly favored and honored, again went to sea with a stronger outfit than before, committing still greater ravages ; but, on his return to France, having encountered four vessels belonging to Biscay, his ships were captured and sent to Seville. Thence he and his captains were taken to Madrid, and after trial, having been adjudged public enemies and guilty of piracy, they were hanged at Puerto del Pico. Whatever may have been his fortune, certain it is from this time we hear of him no more. The same facts are stated in the *Biblioteca Americana* of Antonio Alcedo, MS. composed in 1807 ; but whether he repeats what the other has written, or draws from the original source, is uncertain. They are both authors of good repute. Barcia was of the Royal Council of Castilla, held important offices, and was one of the founders in Spain of the Royal Society of History. He drew much of the material in this work of 1723 from unpublished documents. Alcedo, known better for his *Diccionario geográfico histórico de las Indias Occidentales*, a labor of twenty years, held high positions in Spain, such as Field Marshal and Governor of Coruña.

They who can find instruction in speculative history, may be gratified with a fine example of this species by turning to the eleventh chapter in the Memoir of Cabot, in which Verrazzano is supposed to have lost his life in the service of England. The opportunity of showing this was afforded on the occasion of printing the letter in question, thirty years after the date it bears, by a remark of Ramusio concerning the fate of this navigator, to the effect that he and others had somewhere been killed, roasted, and eaten by Indians, in sight of his men. It was likewise found, in the same year, 1527, that the Mary Guilford, of Liverpool, had sailed westwardly, and afterward reported at Porto Rico that her pilot, a native of Piedmont, had been slain by the natives of Bacalaos. These slight circumstances, brought together, were assumed as sufficient to identify Verrazzano in that person, record the time, and mark the region of his misfortune. A letter to Henry VIII., earlier in the year, written by the master of the Mary Guilford, then lying in the haven of St. John, Newfoundland, and another by a priest on board, addressed to Cromwell, contain not a word in reference to that personage, dead or alive.*

Tiraboschi, too, in his exploration of Italian literature, accidentally struck a vein that proved almost equally productive. It is a passage discovered in a letter of Annibal Caro, addressed at Castro to the members of the household of M. di' Gaddi, treating humorously of his travels. In the course of his addresses to the different persons, he says: "As for you, Verrazzano, a seeker after new worlds and their wonders, I cannot as yet tell you anything worthy of your map; for we have not thus far passed through any country which had not been already discovered by you or by your brother." A grave objection to this letter, it will be seen, is the date,

* Biddle : Chap. IX. Herrera : Dec. II. lib. V. caps. III.

1537, two years after Cartier had gone on his second voyage, the very lateness of which dampens every hope of a probable value.

“Ma è degno di riflessione un passo delle Lettere di Annibal Caro, a cui niuno di quelli che hanno scritto del Verazzani, ha finor posto mente. Scrivendo egli da Castro a' 13 di ottobre del 1537 a tutti i famigliari di Mons. di' Gaddi, e descrivendo piacevolmente un suo viaggio, e ragionando or con uno, o con altro de' domestici di quel prelato, *a voi, Verazzano*, dice (*Lett. famil. t. I. lett. 13*), *come a cercatore di nuovi mondi, e delle meraviglie di essi, non posso ancor dir cosa degna della vostra carta, perchè non avemo passati terre, che non sieno state scoperte da voi, o da vostro fratello*. Questo passo ci mostra premieramente che Giovanni avea un fratello, il quale ancora avea molto viaggiato e scoperti nuovi paesi. Ma poichè questi, di cui non sappiamo il nome proprio, è effatto sconosciuto agli storici di quel tempo, convien dire ch' ei fosse assai men celebre del fratello. E parmi perciò verisimile che il cercatore de' nuovi mondi, con cui parla qui il caro, sia Giovanni. Il che se è vero, converrà dire ch' ei non fosse abbastanza premiato dal re di Francia, e che dovesse perciò tomar sene in Italia, ed entrare nella famiglia del Gaddi; e che il racconto del Ramusio o sia falso, o certamente un tal fatto si debba differire di molti anni.” —Storia della Litteratura Italiana del Cav. Abate Girolamo Tiraboschi. Tomo VII., Parte I., Capo VI.

Here are two discoverers by the name of Verrazzano, and one of them is assumed to be Giovanni. A slight examination of the life and writings of Caro will show that at this period he was a teacher at Rome, in the family of M. Gaddi, an opulent Florentine.

The following sentences succeed the one given by Tiraboschi, before quoted: “It has been told you already that in these parts we found many more animals with two feet than four, and many more snakes than men. We arrived

the first night at the grand villa of Monte Ruosi, of which I have only to tell you, that they made us a present of the beast sent to you, and which was caught at night following our caravan." *

It will not be difficult now to account for the direction, and offer an explanation of the meaning of the passages cited : that the author, being at the time of writing absent from home, journeying about the country, in sportively addressing his pupils from Castro, makes reference to their studies and exercises in geography and map-making. The name of Verrazzano was not confined to a family any more than to an individual.

From the reasoning thus brought to bear on the point of dates, should the authorities be deemed credible, it must appear that if this voyage of Verrazzano was ever performed, it must have been after the 6th of May, 1521, the day of the return of Gomez, and before the 6th of September, 1522, the day of the return of De Elcano from the circumnavigation of the globe. In the early part of 1523, Juan Florentin took the treasure ships of Cortez ; in 1524 he was himself captured, with his fleet, some of the same probably which his successes of the year before had procured for him. We have already seen, in the beginning of his letter, that he leaves us to infer the loss of two of his four vessels while on a voyage of discovery to the north, doubtless about the close of 1523 ; of which enterprise, however, considerable as it was, there exists no trace † in the records of a great nation in the centre of

* Query : Was the "beast" enclosed in the letter ?

† ORDER OF EVENTS.

Magallanes, on the 20th August,	1519, sails from Sanlúcar southwestward.
Gomez, on the 6th May,	1521, returns from the Straits of Magellan.
De Elcano, on the 6th Sept.,	1522, returns by the Cape of Good Hope.
Verrazzano chased in	1522 from the Canaries toward Azores.
Verrazzano, in the early part of	1523, takes the Mexican treasure at Azores.
Verrazzano, with four vessels, in	1523, sails northward on discovery.
Verrazzano, on the 17th Jan.,	1524, sails westward from Desertas.
Verrazzano, on the 8th July,	1524, returns to Dieppe, in France.
Verrazzano alleged to have been in	1524 hanged at the Canaries.
Gomez sails from Coruña Dec.,	1524, for western coast of America.
Gomez returns in October,	1525, to Toledo, in Spain.

Europe, time and war being supposed to have carried away every memorial.*

It is not the least observable circumstance in the history of this voyage, that it should not have been followed up, or remembered, during the reign in which the discovery is alleged to have been made, and in the long administration of the Marine by Chabot, from 1525 to 1540. In the *Bibliothèque Imperiale*, two volumes folio of his letters in manuscript, written in the year 1525, are preserved ; and fifteen charts there on parchment, from his cabinet, contain instructive lessons in the early geography of the sixteenth century. That minister it was who favored the ideas of Jacques Cartier, and presented his memorial to the king, proposing to make discoveries in the *Terres-Neuves*.— This led to the voyages of the years 1534, 1535, and 1540, with the settlement of Canada ; yet in no account of any part of that great design of state, nor even in the part of Roberval, undertaken as late as 1542, does the name of Verrazzano occur, nor is any reference whatsoever made to his supposed discovery. If there were any fame of the sort, why should France choose to settle her population so far to the north, preferring the cold region her fishermen were conceded to have found, to the milder climate, fertile vales, and inviting bays and watercourses of New England and New York, which had been discovered by royal authority during the prince's reign ?

The opinion in Spain, to which the Council of State and Indias arrived, upon information sent them from the Emperor, is full as to their knowledge touching the supposed design of France to occupy the country in the year 1541, and the extent of French discovery up to that time : they say that there is no unoccupied country on the north sea, that has anything covetable, to which the French could

* Histoire de la Nouvelle France, par le P. De Charlevoix : Tome Premier, Livre I.

go ; and should they take possession of any land there, it would be to relinquish it through privation. Their judgment received the sanction of the Archbishop of Sevilla, with the additional remark, that, in his opinion, all the coast to Florida, except it be the fishery, was entirely valueless, whence the French must return wasted, with few persons and little of the substance they might take out with them. Their aim was said to be for the country claimed to have been long since discovered by the Bretons ; that the coast south of it, was the country discovered by Estevan Gomez and by Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon. On the margin of one of these consultations is written, referring to the same region :

“On old charts, some say : Lands of the Bretones, others, Land of Portugal ; on one, that it was discovered by French.” *

The earliest document to this time found, accrediting the discovery of Verrazzano has been brought forward by the Librarian of the New York Historical Society. It is on a copper globe made by Euphrosynus Vlpius, at Venice, in 1542. Over a wide extent of this country is spread the inscription :

VERRAZANA SIVE NOVA GALLIA A VERRAZANO FLO-
RENTINO COMPERTA ANNO SAL. M. D.

Within a scroll on the instrument are the words :
“ Marcello Cervino S. R. E. Presbitero Cardinali. D. D. Rome.”

This record has certainly high authority in the former possessor's name, a man of science, taste, and equal energy, at one time primate of Rome, and who was raised from a Cardinal to the Pontificate in 1554. Yet it is to be observed that though Cervino, the archbishop of Florence, was

* Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida y tierras adyacentes. Londres, 1857.

apostolic nuncio to France in 1539, and afterward legate to Charles V. in Germany, whom he accompanied into Spain, he appears not to have been able, with so wide opportunity and the influence of his positions, to determine for this important inscription the year of the discovery deemed to have been made by his fellow citizen and contemporary.

In the preface to what is written by Laudonier, giving a history of the colonizing of Florida by the French, from the year 1561 to 1565, he speaks of the region to the north being called New France, from the time of the discovery of it by Verrazzano for Francis I.; but at that date the letter had already been published eight or nine years, and he adds nothing to what may be read either there or in the introduction written by Ramusio.

After a deliberate examination of these matters, it will probably be difficult to find a reason for believing that the letter in question was written by Verrazzano, or to expect to find any contemporaneous authority to show that this voyage was ever made, or even attempted. The narration is wanting in that practical character that would be expected to mark the report of a pilot on discoveries, who, it appears, neither examined the country for the riches it might possess, nor the shore for the strait it might offer; and, in view of our later knowledge, it is in the main false. The facts go far to show, that the paper was written at a time so far back, that the entrances of the coast and "lay of the land" were imperfectly or not at all known, and that it was dated too far forward, to be in proper relation with the progress of maritime discovery.

To the emulation among the cities of Italy, may perhaps be ascribed the probably fictitious accounts of voyages attributed to Amerigo Vespuccio; and to the same feeling we may be again indebted for this pretended letter of another Florentine.

A copy of the letter of Carli, which accompanies that of Verrazzano in the Migliabechia collection, is here

translated, and for the first time published in English :

*Letter of Fernando Carli to his
Father.**

In the name of God.

4th day of August, 1524.

Honored Father :

Remembering that when I was in the Barbary fleet at Garbiéh, the news which were daily given you from the illustrious Signor Don Hugo de Moncada, captain-general of the Cæsarean Majesty in those barbarous parts, while he was pursuing and fighting the Moors of that island, it appears pleased our many correspondents and friends, and that you were congratulated by them on the victory achieved ; so, there are news again, recently received here, of the arrival of Captain Giovanni Verrazzano, our Florentine, at the port of Dieppe, in Normandy, with his ship, the *Delfina*, in which, at the end of January last, he went from the Canary Islands in search of new countries for this most serene crown of France, displaying great and very noble courage by engaging as he did in an unknown navigation, with a single sail, a caravel of scarcely —† tons, having only fifty men, with the purpose, to the best of his ability, of discovering Cathay by taking the way into climates different from those in which the Portuguese are accustomed to make discoveries toward

* Historic Italian Archive ; or, Collection of works and documents until now not published, or which have become very rare, concerning the history of Italy. Appendix. Volume IX. Florence. Gio. Pietro Viensseux, director-editor of his Gabineto Scientifico-Litterario. 1853.

† The amanuensis has left out the number of tons burthen of the ship.

*Lettera di Fernando Carli a suo
padre.**

Al nome di Dio.

a dì 4 Agosto, 1524.

Onorando padre :

Considerando che quando fui in la armata di Barbaria alle Gierbe vi furono grate le nuove advisatevi giornalmente per lo illustre sig. Don Ugo di Moncada, capitano generale della Cesarea Maestà, in quelle barbare parti, seguiti certando† con li Mori de detta isola ; per la quale mostrasi haver fatto piacere a molti nostri padroni ed amici, e con quelli della conseguita vittoria congratulativi : pertanto, assendo nuovamente qui nuova della giunta del capitano Giovanni da Verrazzano nostro fiorentino allo porto di Dieppe in Normandia con sua nave *Delfina*, con la quale si parti dalle insule Canarie fino di Gennaio passato, per andare in busca di terre nuove per questa serenissima corona di Francia, in che mostrò coraggio troppo nobile e grande a mettersi a tanto incognito viaggio con una sola nave che appena è una caravella di tonelli,‡—solo con 50 uomini, con intenzione di, giusta sua possa, discoprire il Cataio, tenendo cammino per altri climati di quelli usano li Portughesi in lo discoprire di

* Archivio Storico Italiano ossia raccolta di opere e documenti finora inediti o divenuti rarissimi riguardanti la Storia d' Italia. Appendice. Tomo IX. Firenze. Gio. Pietro Viensseux, direttore-editore al suo Gabinetto Scientifico-Letterario. 1853.

† Combattendo (*Nota dell' edizione Romana*).

‡ L' amanuense ha lasciato il numero delle tonnellate di cui era capace la nave (*Nota come sopra*).

Calicut; but going toward the north-west and the north, holding on his way so as to find some country or other, although Ptolemy, Aristotle, and other cosmographers laid down, that no land was to be found in the direction of such climates; and thus by God has he been permitted to do, as he sets forth lucidly in a letter to this sacred Majesty, a copy of which is enclosed. After many months spent in navigation, he was obliged, as he states, for want of provisions, to return from that hemisphere to this, having been seven months on the voyage, indicating a very great and rapid passage made in the performance of an admirable and extraordinary feat, to the mind of those who understand the navigation of the globe. The commencement of that voyage was marked with disaster, and many thought that there never would be news of him, or of the ship; that it must be lost on the farther side of Norway, by reason of the huge ice in that northern ocean; but, as that Moor said, the great God, to give us every day more evidences of his infinite power, and to show us how admirable is this earthly machine, has discovered to him an extent of land, as you will observe, so vast, that according to the good regions and degrees of latitude by altitude, it appears and shows itself to be larger than Europe, Africa, and a part of Asia: *ergo mundus novus*: and this is without what the Spaniards have these many years found in the west; for it is hardly a year since Fernando Magellanes, having discovered an immense country, returned in one ship of five with which he went out, bringing back cloves that are much better than common; and of his other ships in five years no news has been heard. They are

verso la parte di Calicut, ma andando verso coro e settentrione *omnino* tenendo, che ancora * Tolomeo ed Aristotile ed altri cosmografi descrivano verso tali climati non trovarsi terra, di trovarvene a ogni modo; e così gli ha Dio concesso, come distintamente describe per una sua lettera a questa S. M.; della quale in questa ne è una copia. E per mancargli le vettovaglie, dopo molti mesi giunto navigando, assegna essergli stato forza tornare da quello in questo emisferio, e in sette mesi suto in viaggio mostrare grandissimo ed accelerato cammino, aver fatto cosa miranda e massima a chi intende la marinera del mondo. Della quale al cominciamento di detto suo viaggio si fece male inditio,† e molti pensorno che non più nè de lui nè del vascello si avesse nuova, ma che si dovesse perdere da quella banda della Norvegia per il grande diaccio che è per quello oceano settentrionale; ma come disse quel Moro, lo Die grande, per darci ogni giorno più notizie di sua infinita possanza e mostrarci di quanto sia ammirabile questa mondiale machina, gli ha scoperto una latitudine di terra, come intenderete, di tanta grandezza che, secondo le buone ragioni e gradi, per latitudine (et) altezza, assegna e mostra più grande che l'Europa, Africa e parte di Asia: *ergo mundus novus*: e questo senza lo che ‡ hanno scoperto in più anni gli Spani per l'occidente, che appena è un anno tornò Ferrando Magaghiana, quale discoperse grande paese con una nave meno delle cinque § a scoprire. Donde

* Ancorèhè.

† L' ediz. romana ha *indizio*, ma crediamo per errore di stampa.

‡ Quello che (*Nota come sopra*).

§ Forse venne qui omissso *ite* o simile; e sembra accennarsi al naufragio di una di quelle cinque navi.

supposed to be lost. What our captain brought, he does not mention in his letter, except a young man of those countries made captive; but it is believed that he has brought a specimen of gold, in that region of no value, of drugs and other aromatic liquors, to confer with many merchants here, after having been in the presence of his Most Serene Majesty, where he should be at this hour; and from there to come here soon, for he is much desired for his conversation, the more because he will see his Majesty, our Sire, who is expected to arrive within three or four days; and we hope that his Majesty will once more send him half a dozen good vessels to make the voyage again. And if our Francisco Carli shall have returned from Cairo, be assured he will adventure himself with him on said voyage, and I believe they know each other at Cairo, where he has been many years, as well as in Egypt and Soria, and nearly throughout the known world; and from here, on account of his merit, he is esteemed another Amerigo Vespucci, another Fernando Megalanes, and even more; and we hope that by providing himself with other good ships and vessels well commanded and victualled as requisite, he will find some profitable traffic and business; and he will do, our Lord God sending him life, honor to our country by acquiring immortal fame and memory. And Aldaretto Brunelleschi, who went with him, and unfortunately turned back, unwilling to follow him farther, when he there hears of it will not be well pleased. Nothing else now occurs to me; since by others I have advised you of what is necessary. I commend myself to you continual-

addusse garofani molto più eccellenti delli soliti; e le altre sue nave in 5 anni mai nuova ci è trapelata. Stimansi perse. Quello* che questo nostro capitano abbia condotto non dice per questa sua lettera, salvo uno uomo giovanetto preso di quelli paesi; ma stimansi che abbia portato mostra di oro, piocchè da quelle bande non lo stimano, e di droghe e di altri liquori aromatici, per conferire qua con molti mercatanti di poi che sarà stato alla presenza della Serenissima Maestà. E a questa ora dovrà esservi, e di qua trasferirsi in breve, perchè è molto desiato, per ragionare seco; tanto più che troverà qui la Maestà del Re nostro sire, che fra tre o quattro giorni vi si attende: e speriamo che S. M. lo rimetta di mezza dozzina di buoní vascelli, e che tornerà al viaggio. E se Francesco Carli nostri si fosse tornato dal Cairo, advisate che alla ventura vorrà andare seco a detto viaggio, e credo si conoschino al Cairo dove è stato più anni; e non solo in Egitto ed Soria, ma quasi per tutto il cognito mondo; e di qua mediante sua virtù è stimato un altro Amerigo Vespucci, un altro Ferrando Magaghiana, e davantiaggio; e speriamo che rimontandosi delle altre buone navi e vascelli ben conditi e vetovagliati come si richiede, abbia ad iscoprire qualche profitoso traffico e fatto; e farà, prestandogli nostro Signore Dio vita, onore alla nostra patria da acquistarne immortale fama e memoria. E Alderotto Brunelleschi che partì con lui, e per fortuna tornando indietro non volse più seguire, come di costà lo intende, sarà

* Nella romana si legge: "stimansi per sè quello ee."; ma ci sembra che il senso giustifichi abbastanza la nostra correzione.

ly, praying you to mention me to our friends, not forgetting Pierfrancesco Dagaghiano,* who being a studious person does not idle much time, and to him recommend me; also to Rustichi, who will not be displeased (if he should take delight as formerly) in hearing of matters concerning cosmography. May God guard you from all evil.

Your son,

FERNANDO CARLI,
in Lyons.

* Perhaps Gagliano.

malcontento. Nè altro per ora mi occorre, perchè per altre vi ho avvisato il bisogno. A voi di continuo mi raccomando, pregandovi ne facciate parte agli amici nostri, non dimenticando Pierfrancesco Dagaghiano,* che per essere persona perita, tengo che ne prenderà grande passatempo; ed a lui mi raccomanderete. Simile al Rustichi, al quale non dispiacerà se si diletta, come suole, intendere cose di cosmografia. Che Dio tutti di male vi guardi.

Vostro figliuolo *

FERNANDO CARLI *
in Lione.

* Forse, da Gagliano.

This is a strange letter to be written at the date and place it claims; strange, not for any facts it may contain, but for the absence at such a time of all allusion to any of the stirring incidents that were passing around Lyons, in the great struggle of the League with the Emperor-King. Carli speaks of Hugo Moncada; but says nothing of a naval engagement, that had occurred four days before, in which the Spanish general was met by Doria at the mouth of the Var, lost three galleys by sinking, and was driven from the coasts of France. The news, in its transmission to the capital, should have reached Lyons, only one hundred and sixty miles from the scene of action. Eleven days before, the *Bonne reine* expired at Château de Blois, from which the writer was but three hundred miles distant, on the direct road to Florence; and yet no allusion is made to an occurrence of so deep regret to the French people as the decease of *Claude de France*. No longer than thirteen days before, an army with Francis at its head was marching to the assistance of the Provençal from Tours, distant only three hundred and fifty miles from Lyons; but the subject is not even remotely hinted at, though that city lay not much out of

the course thither. The stupidity of this letter nearly recommends it for good faith ; as to the other, attributed to Verrazzano, whatever may have been his ability as a navigator, or his merit as a discoverer, that document furnishes no evidences of either.

Om

The following blank pages
constitute evidence of profit and
waste for which I will write
my Statement.

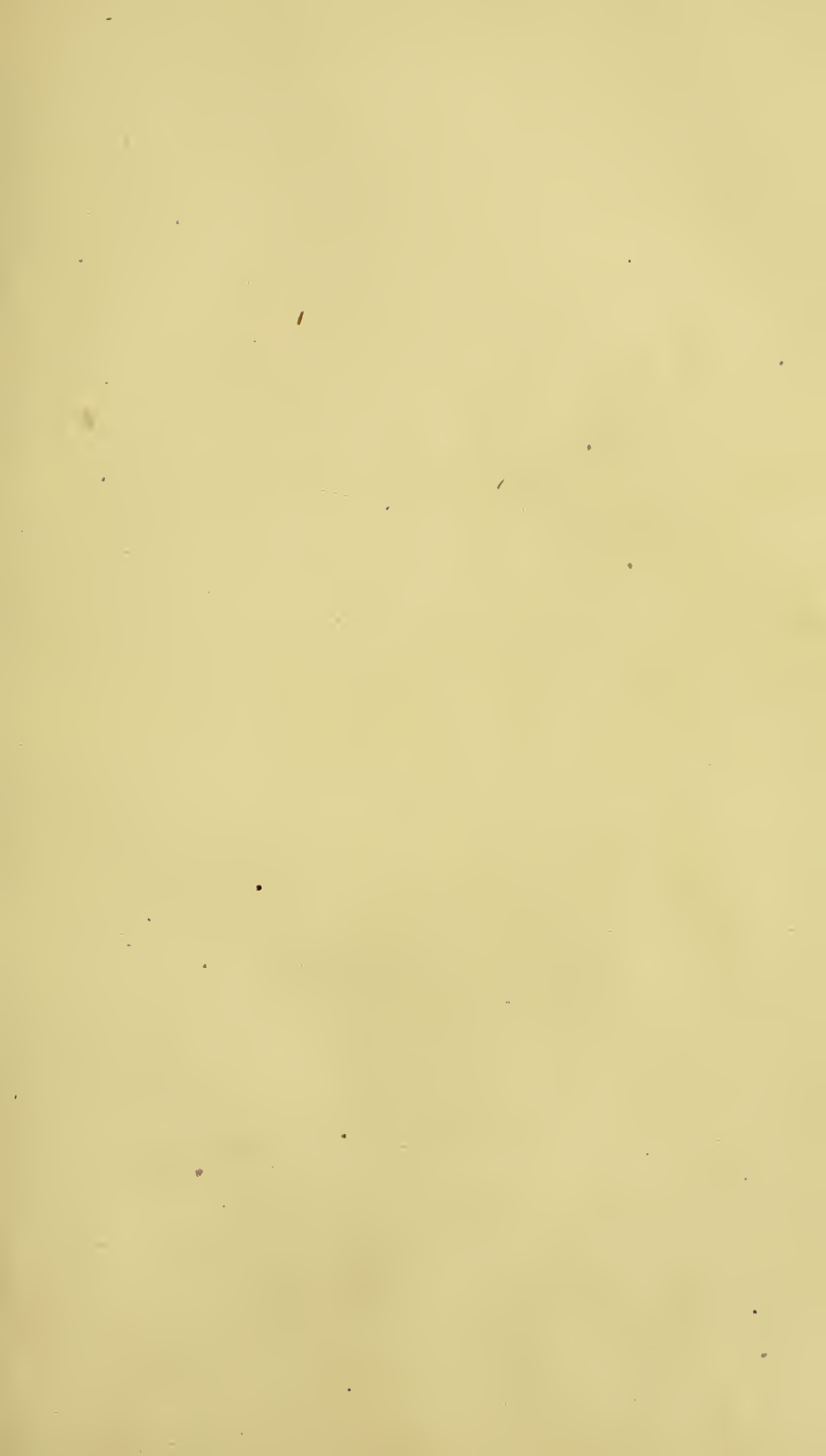
Phil. H. H. H.



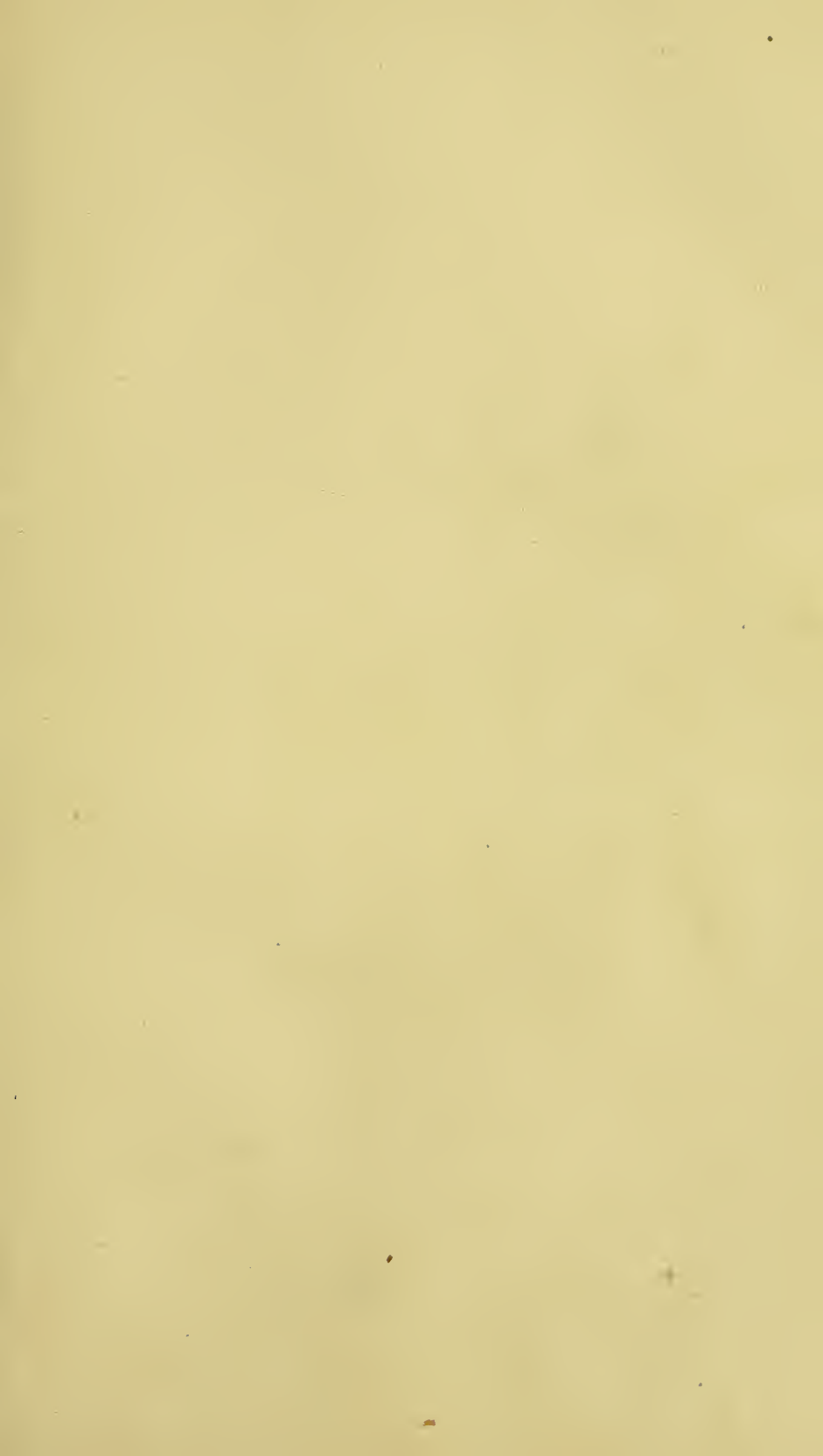


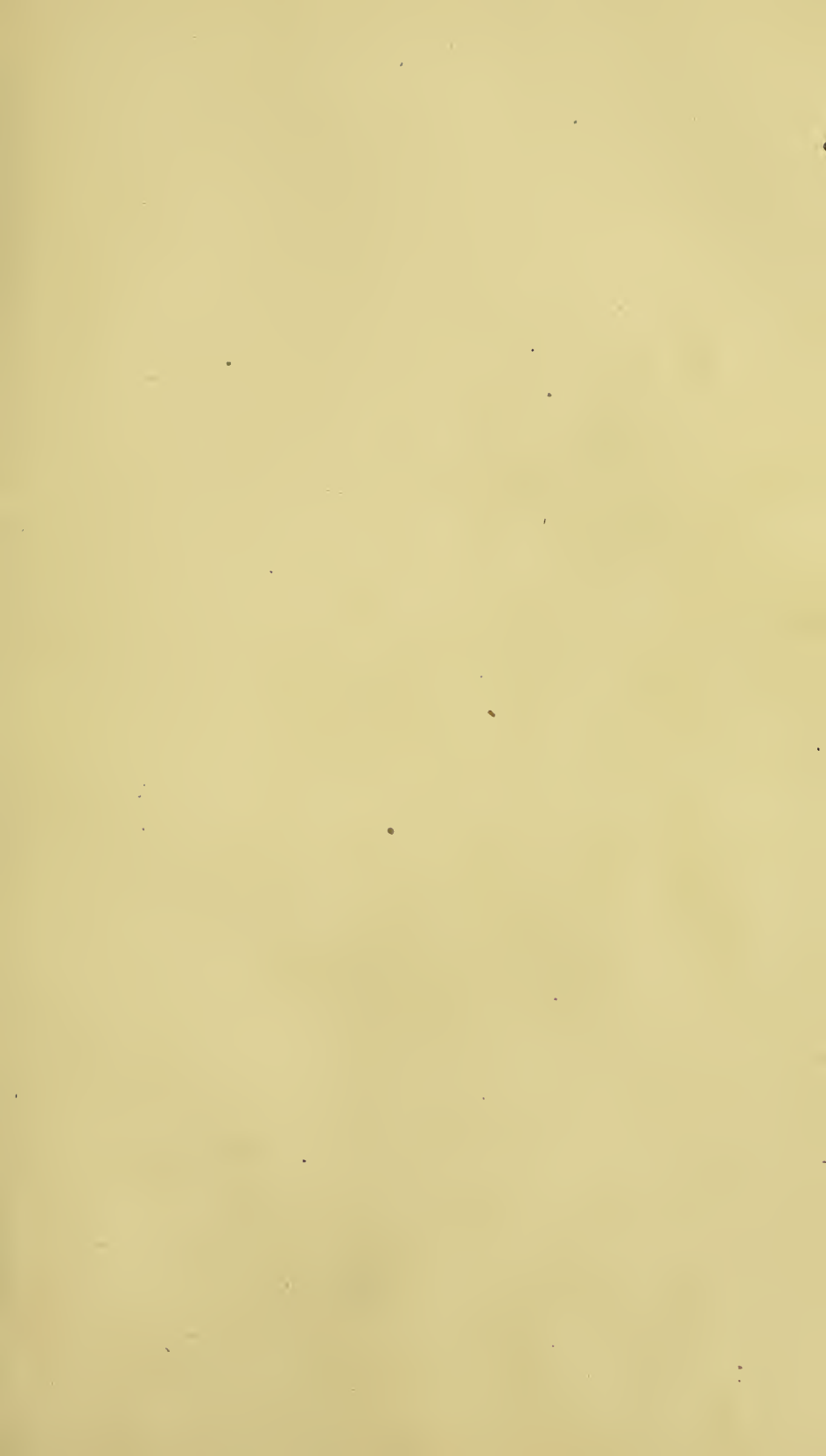








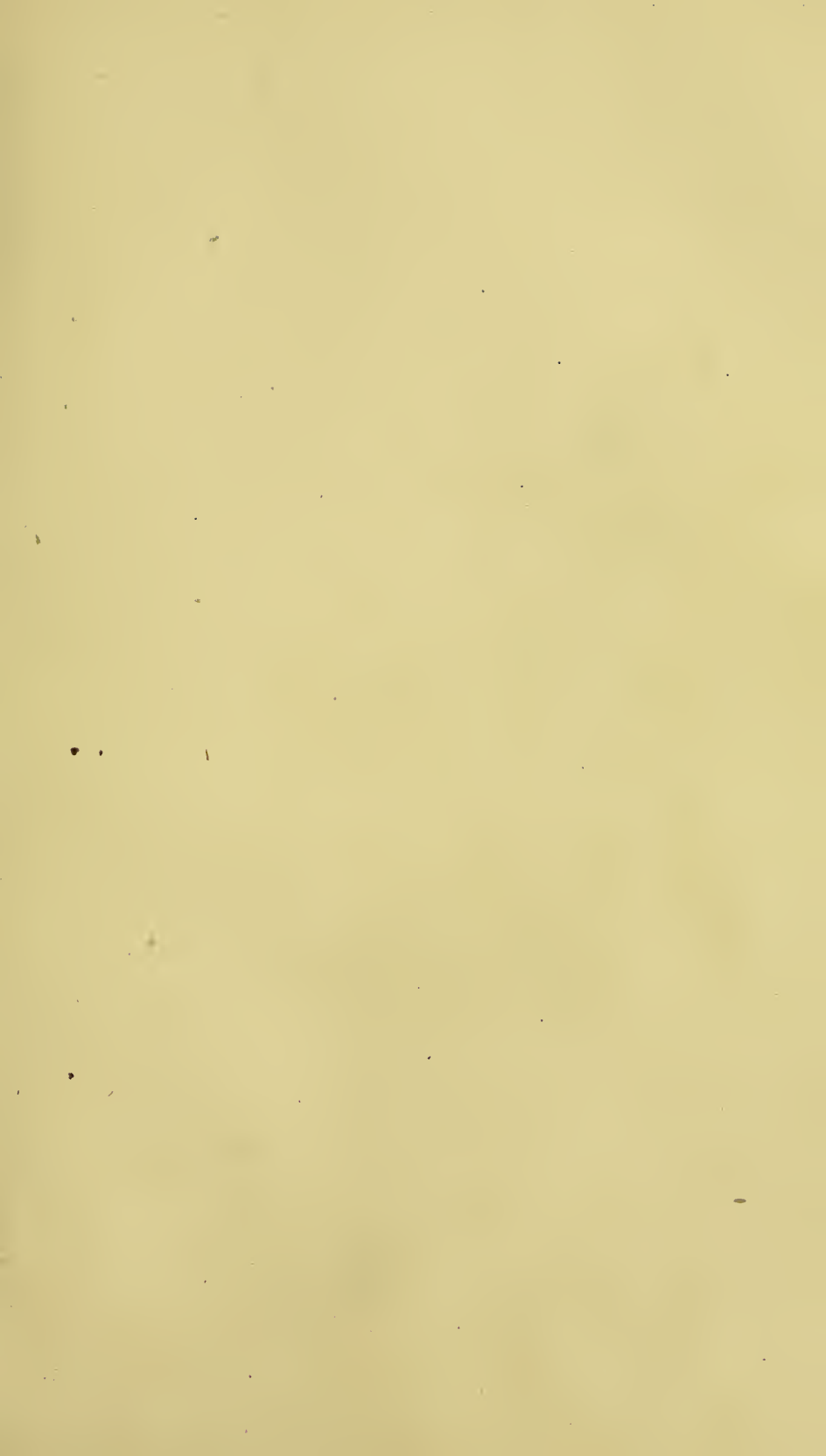




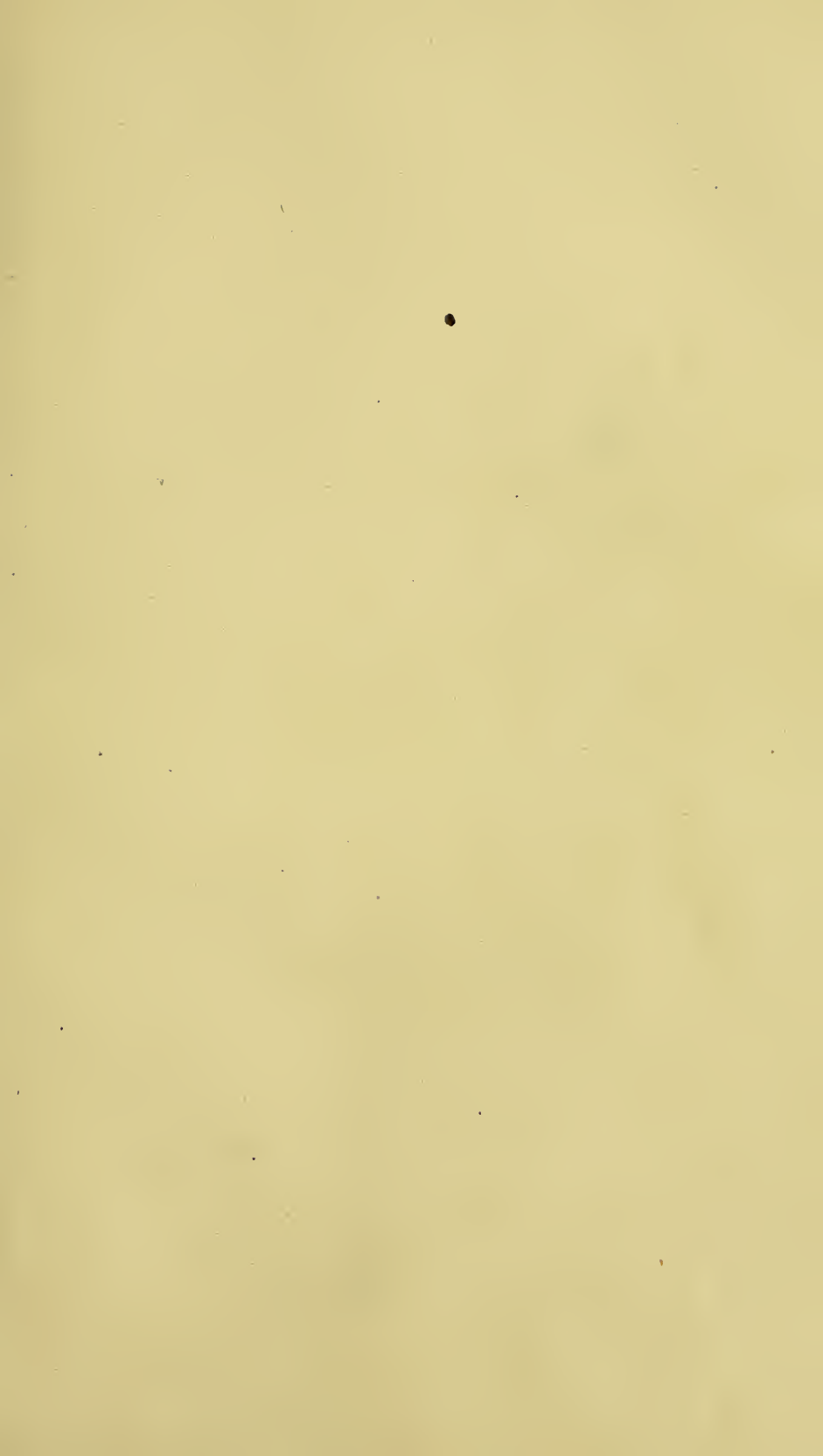






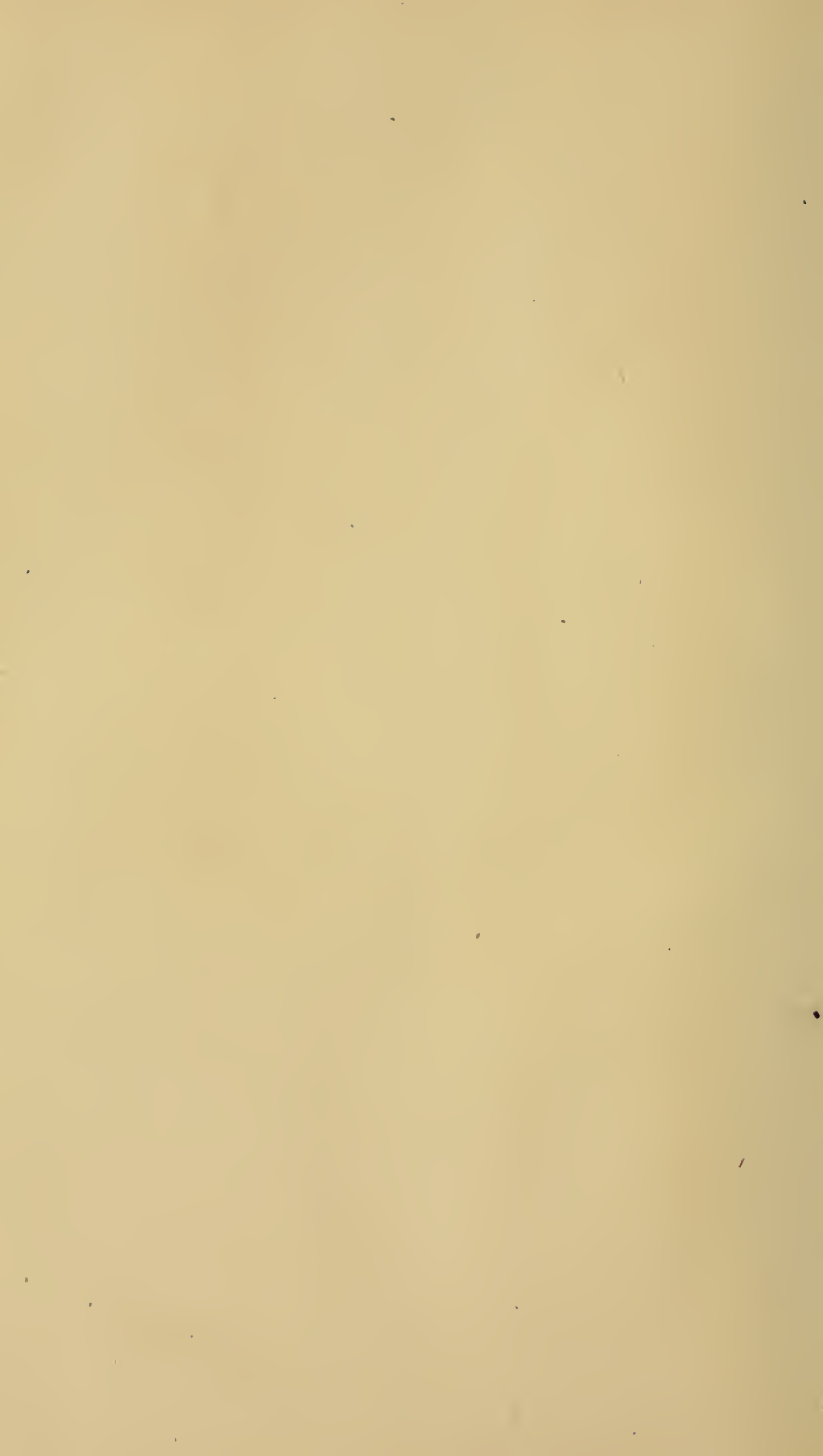






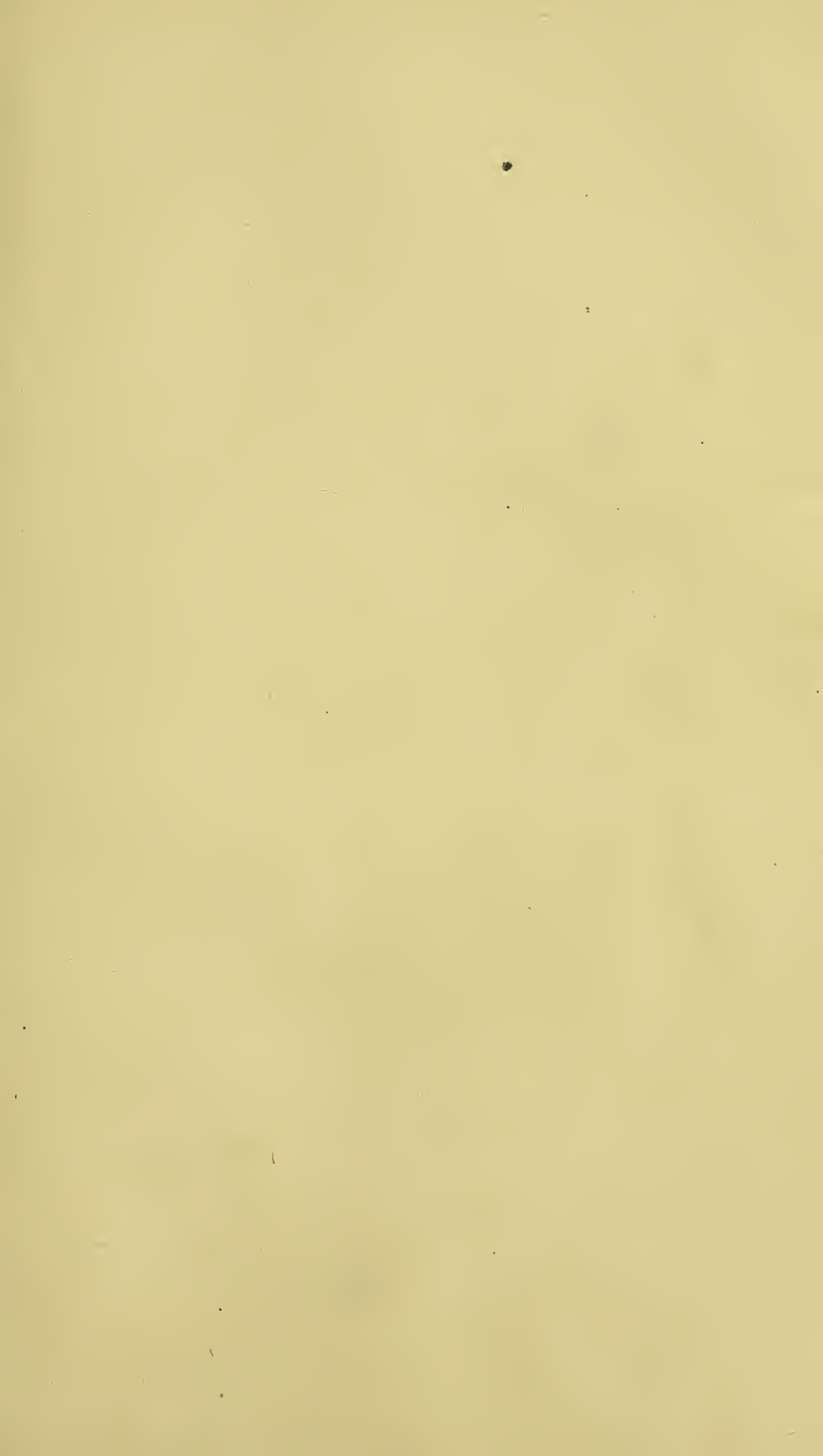


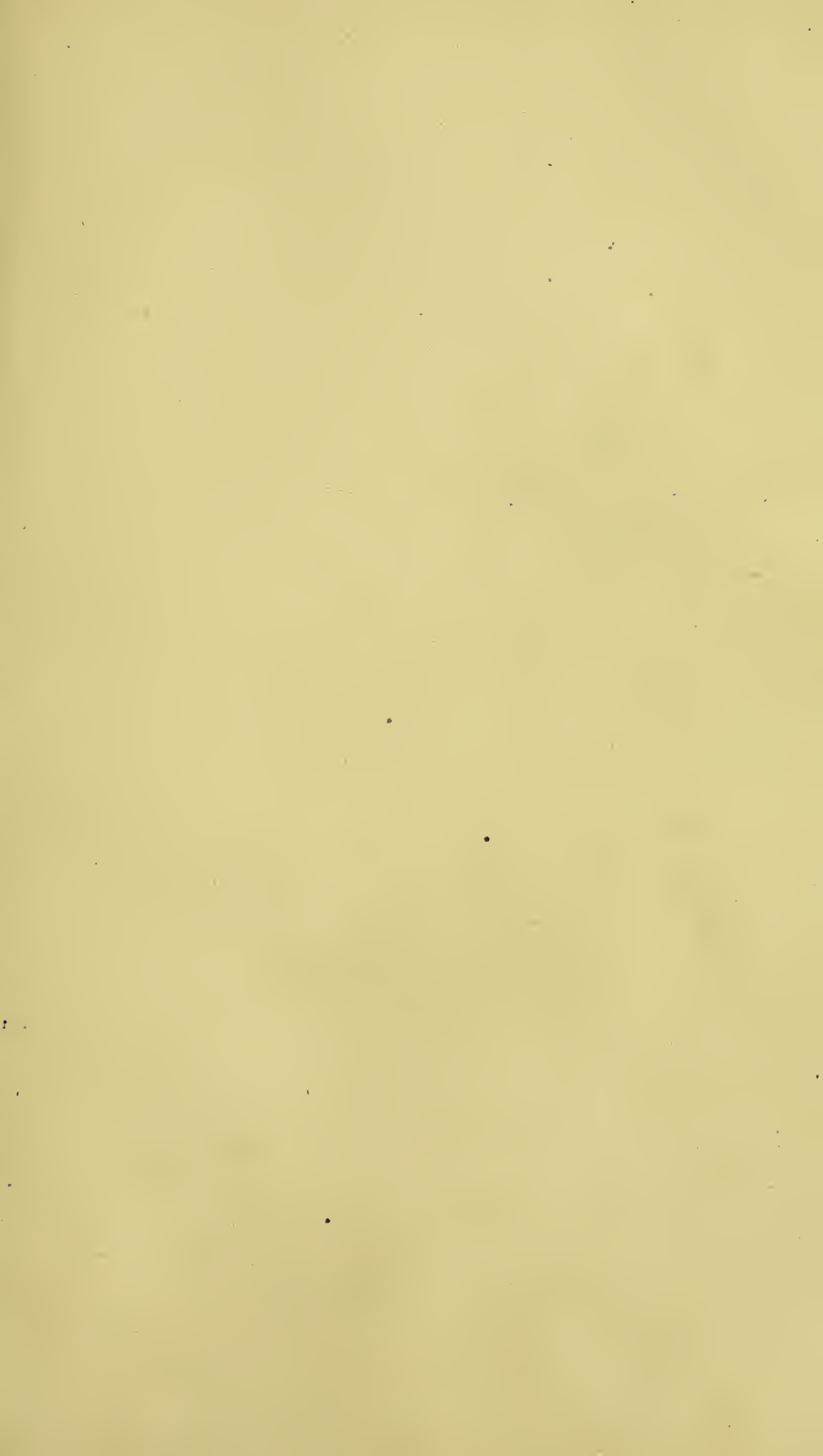


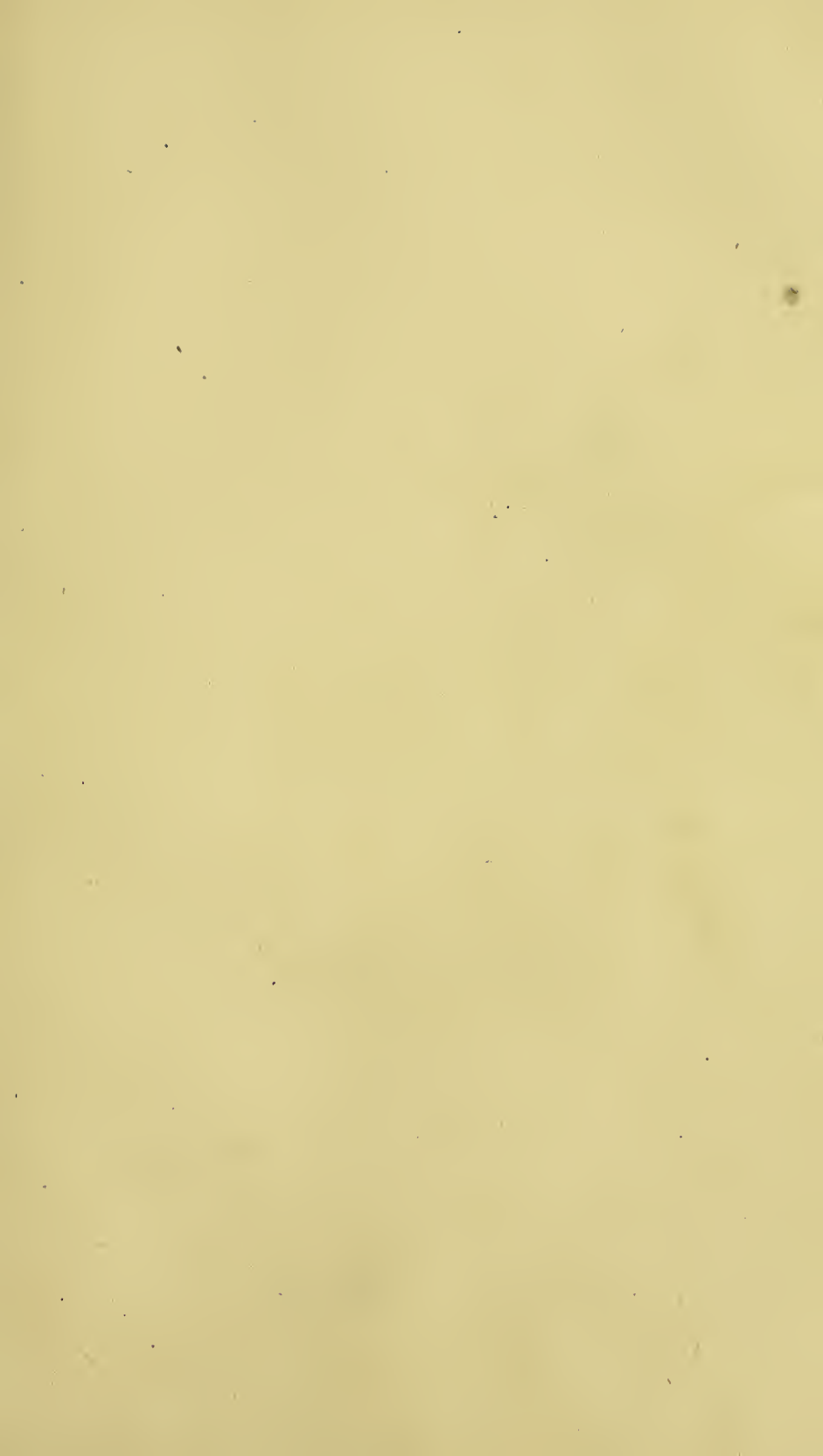


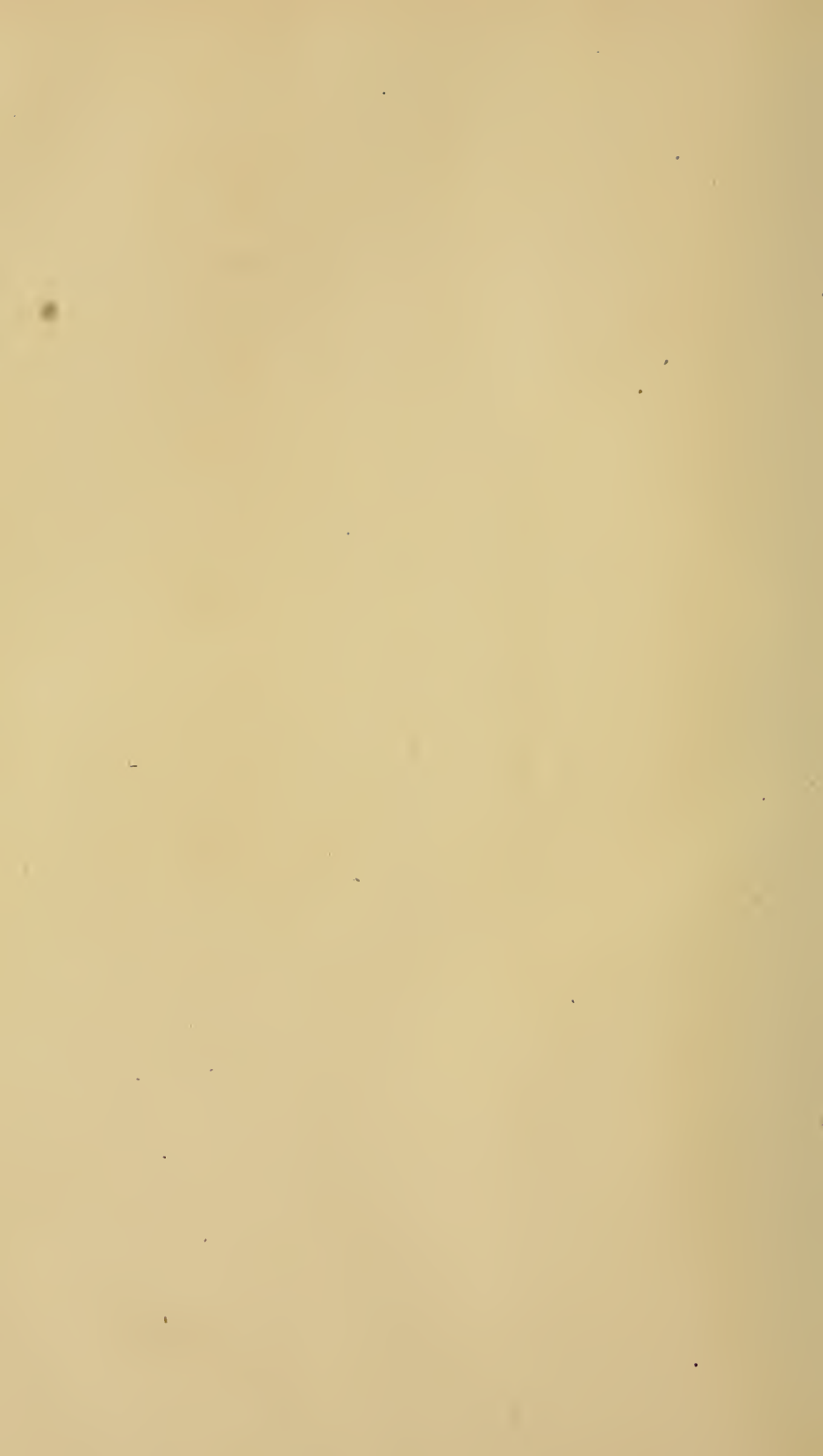




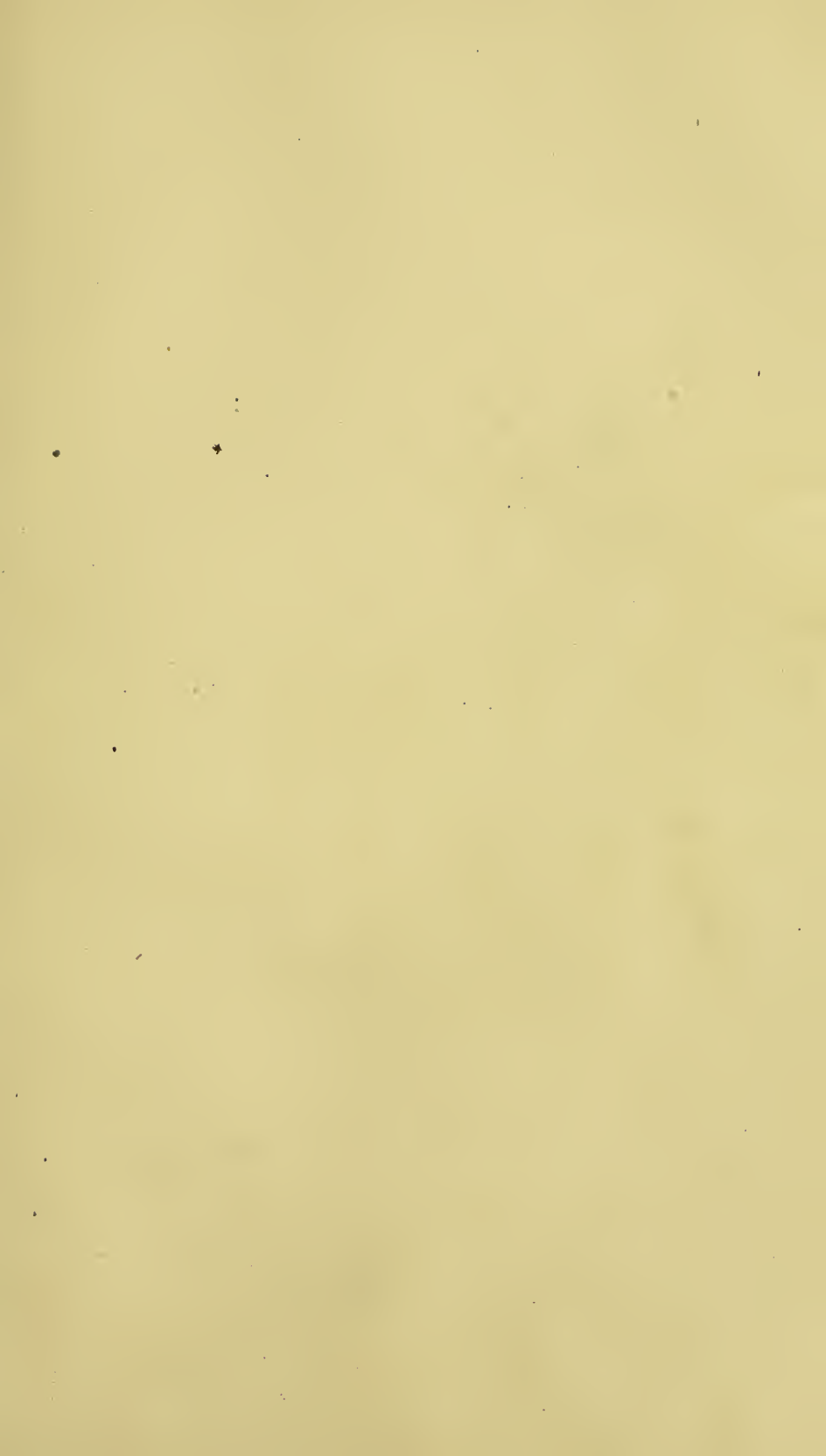




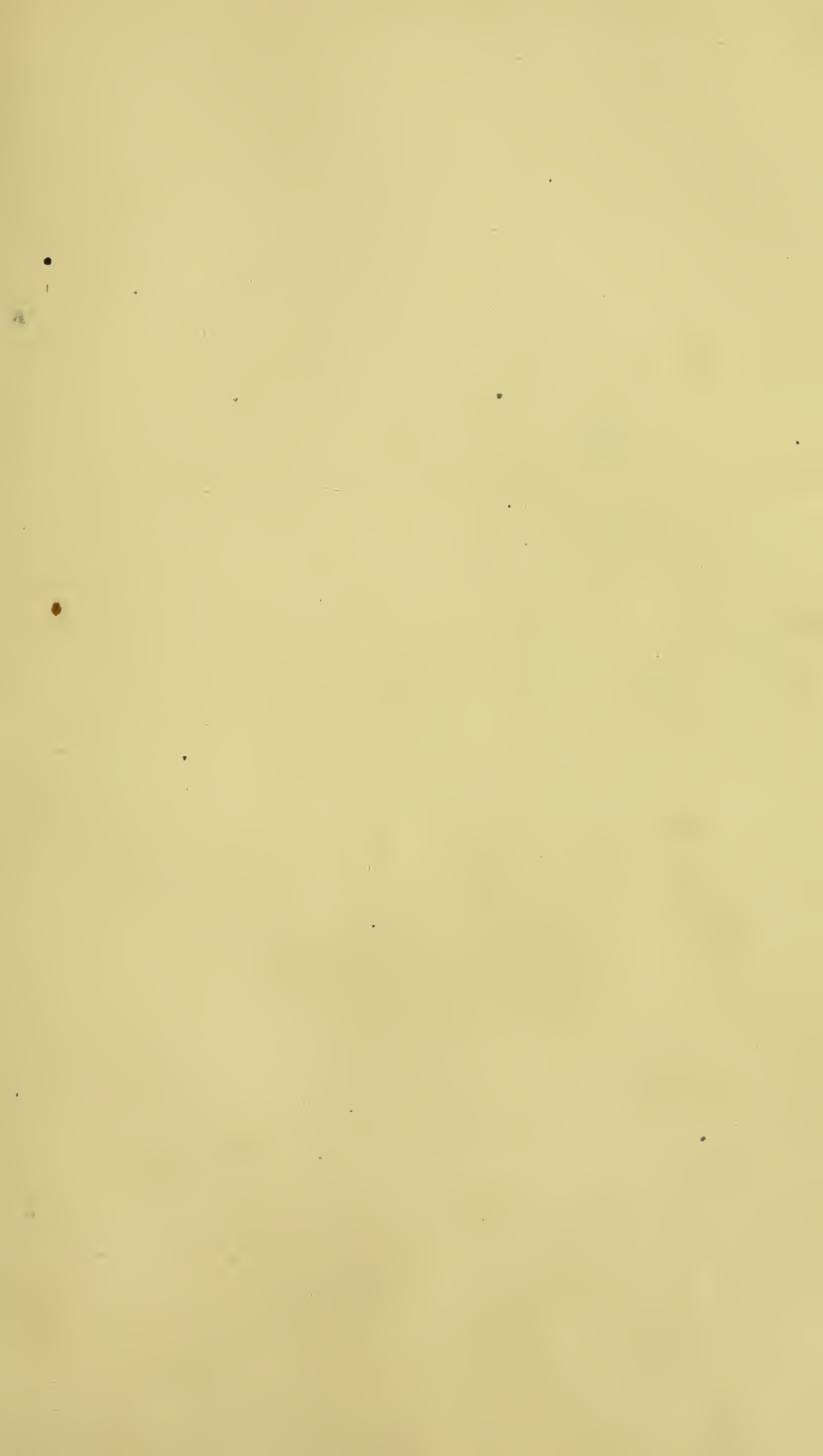




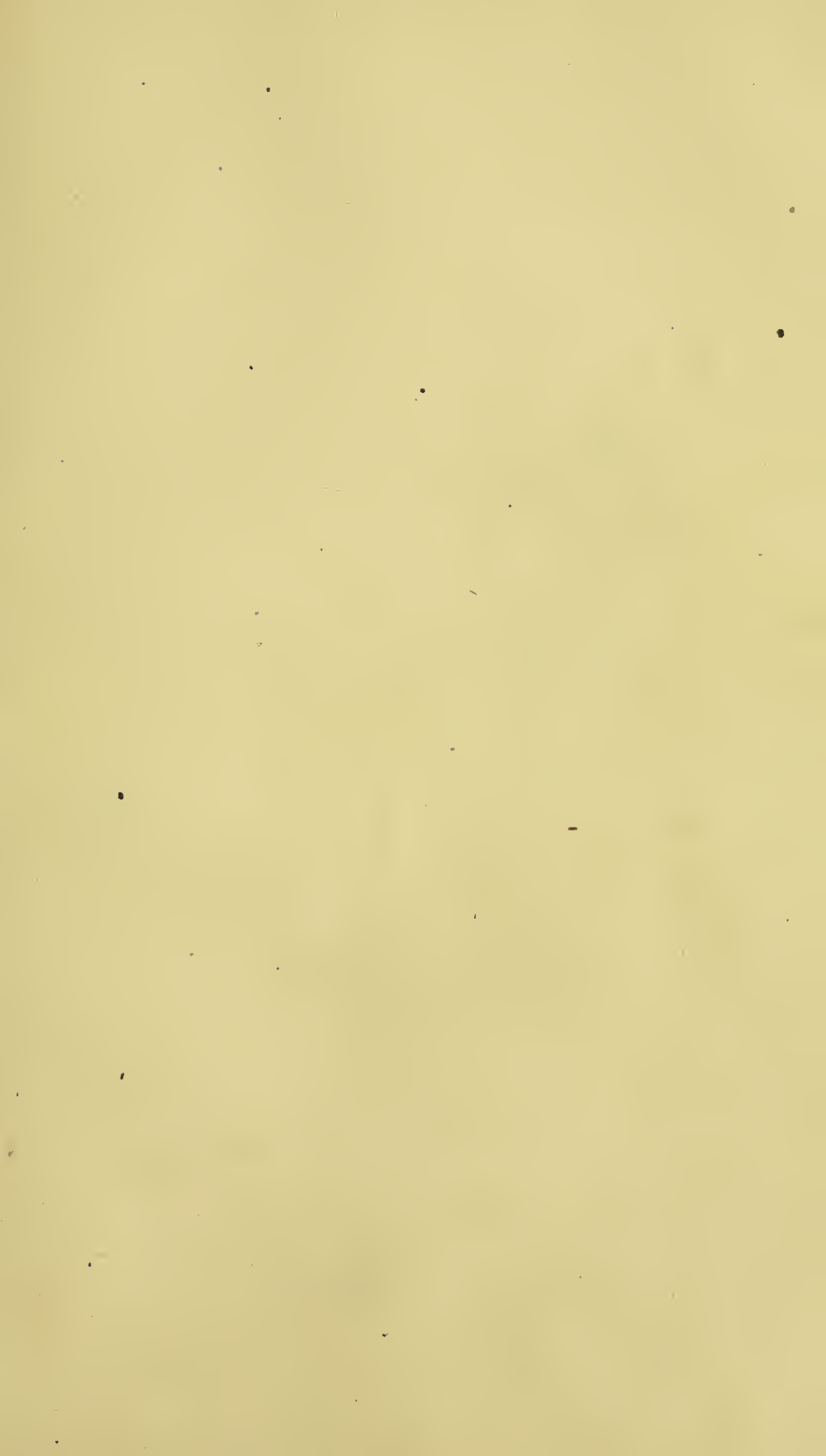




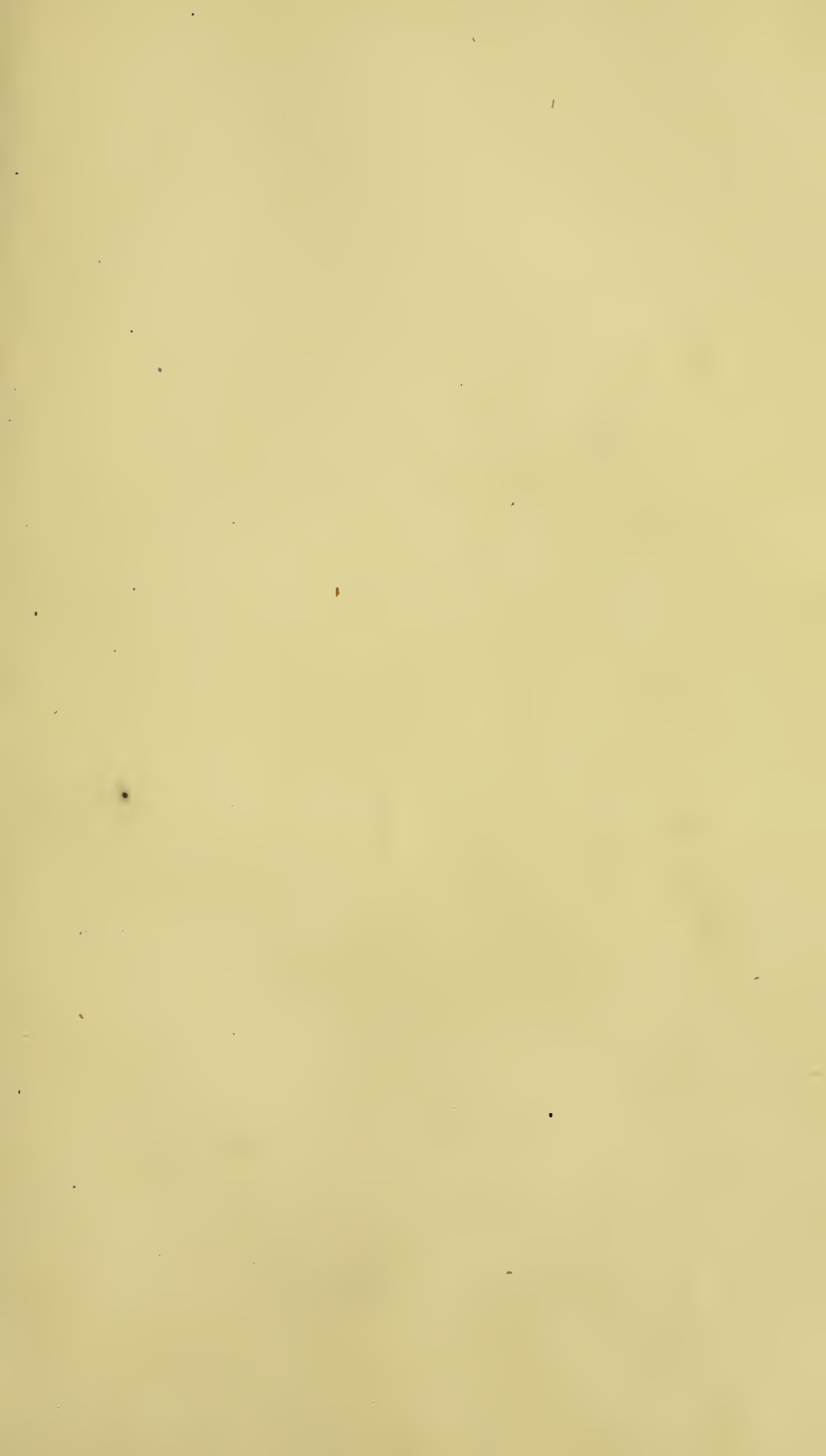


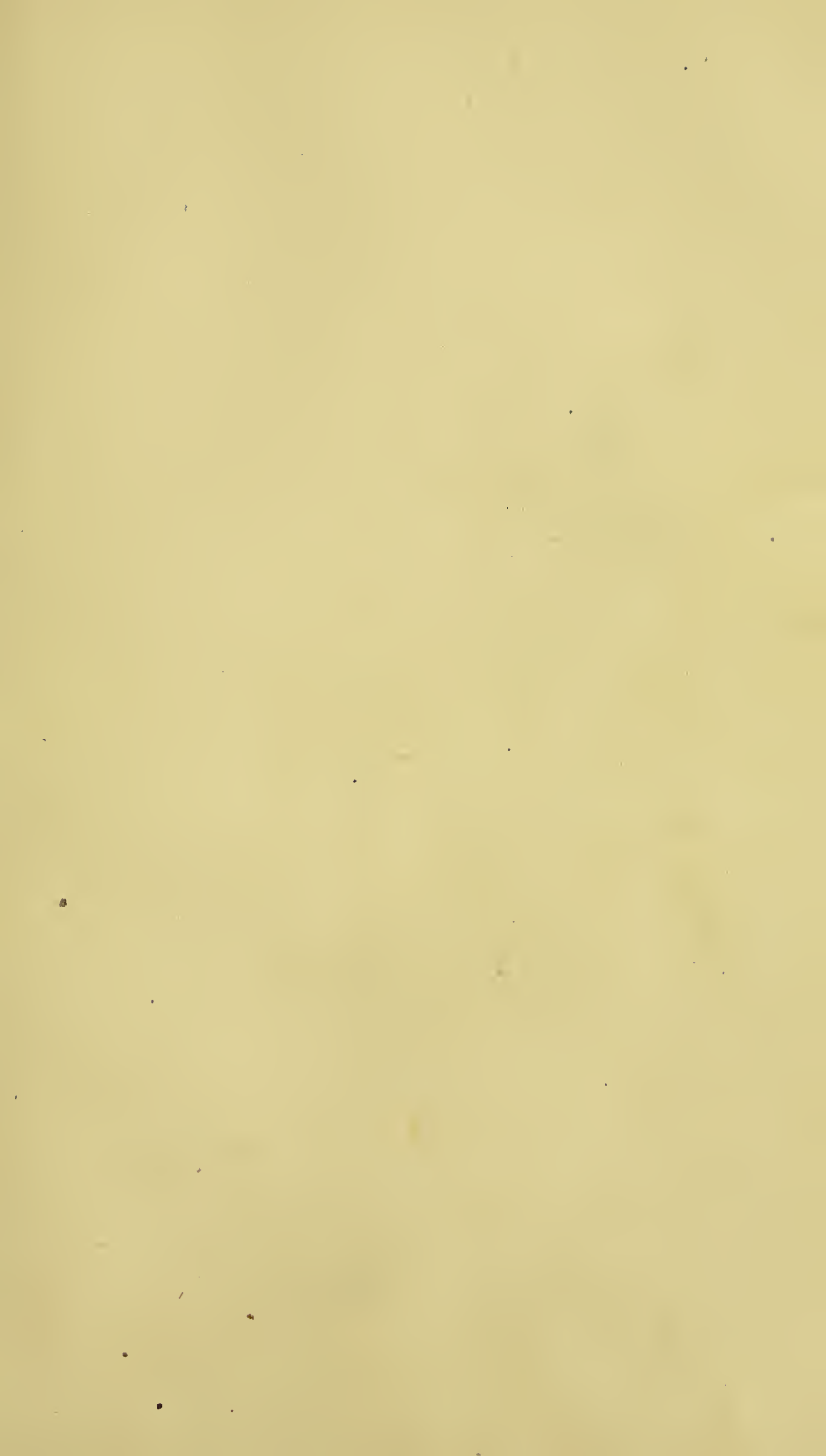




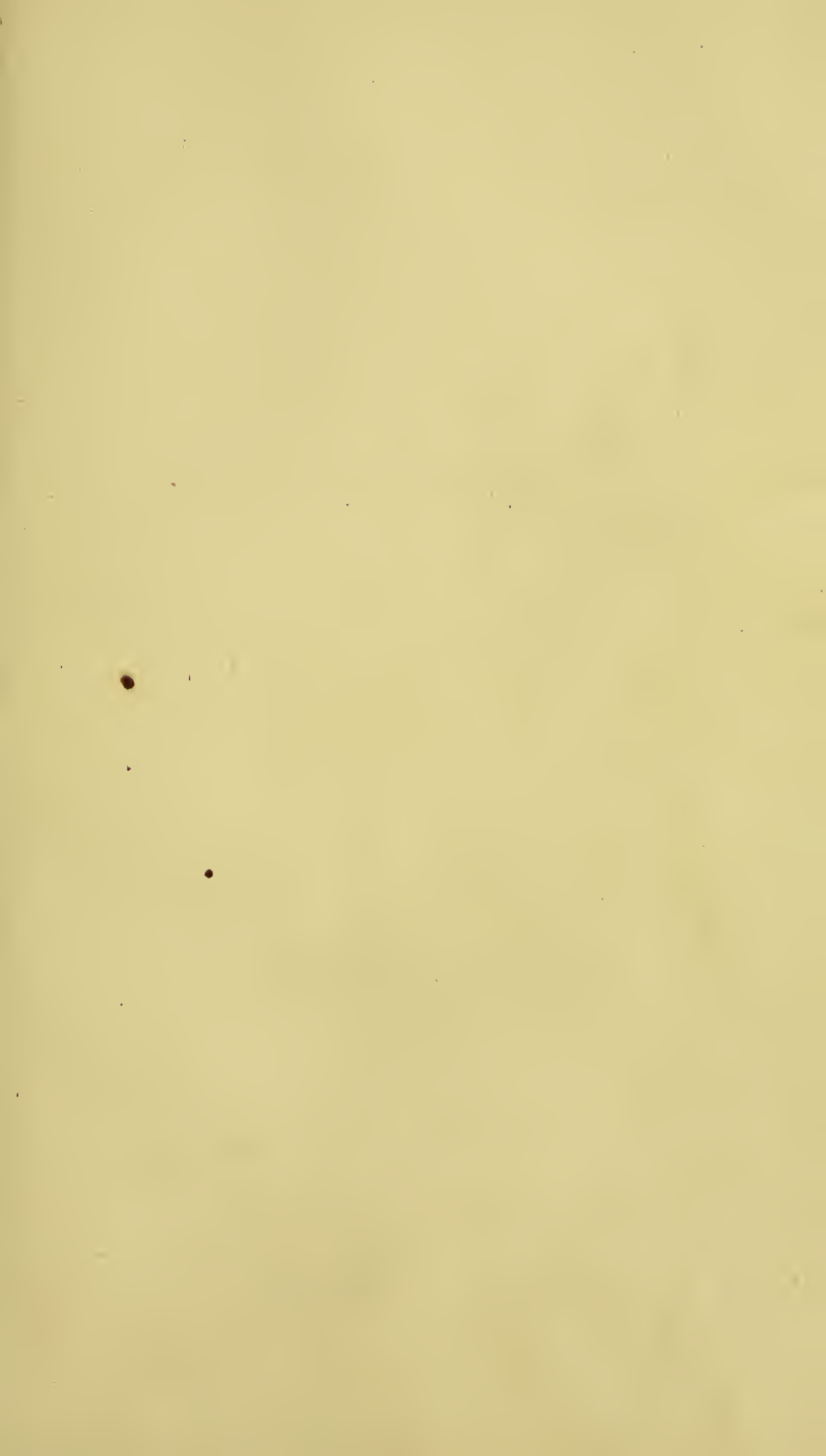




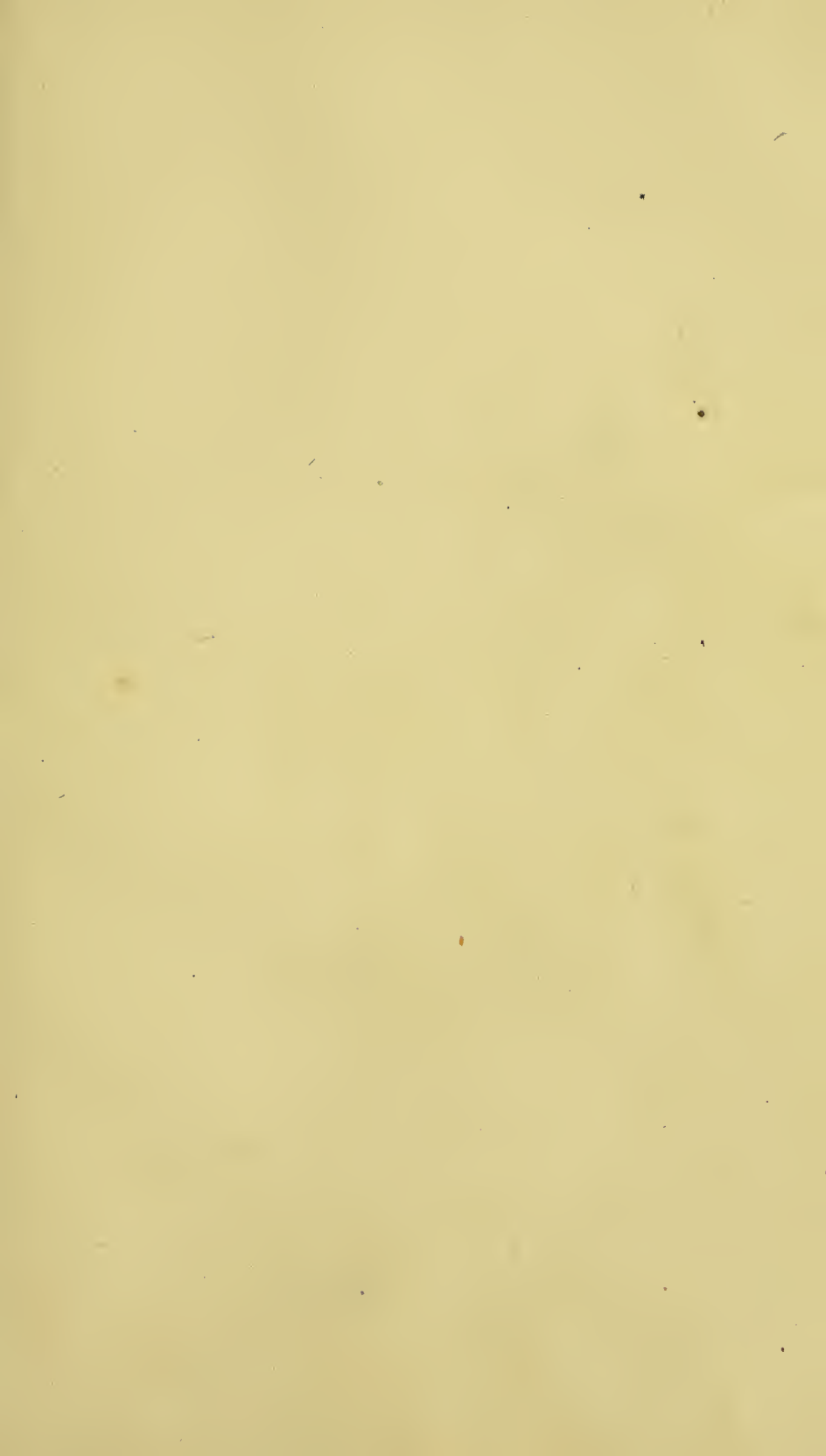


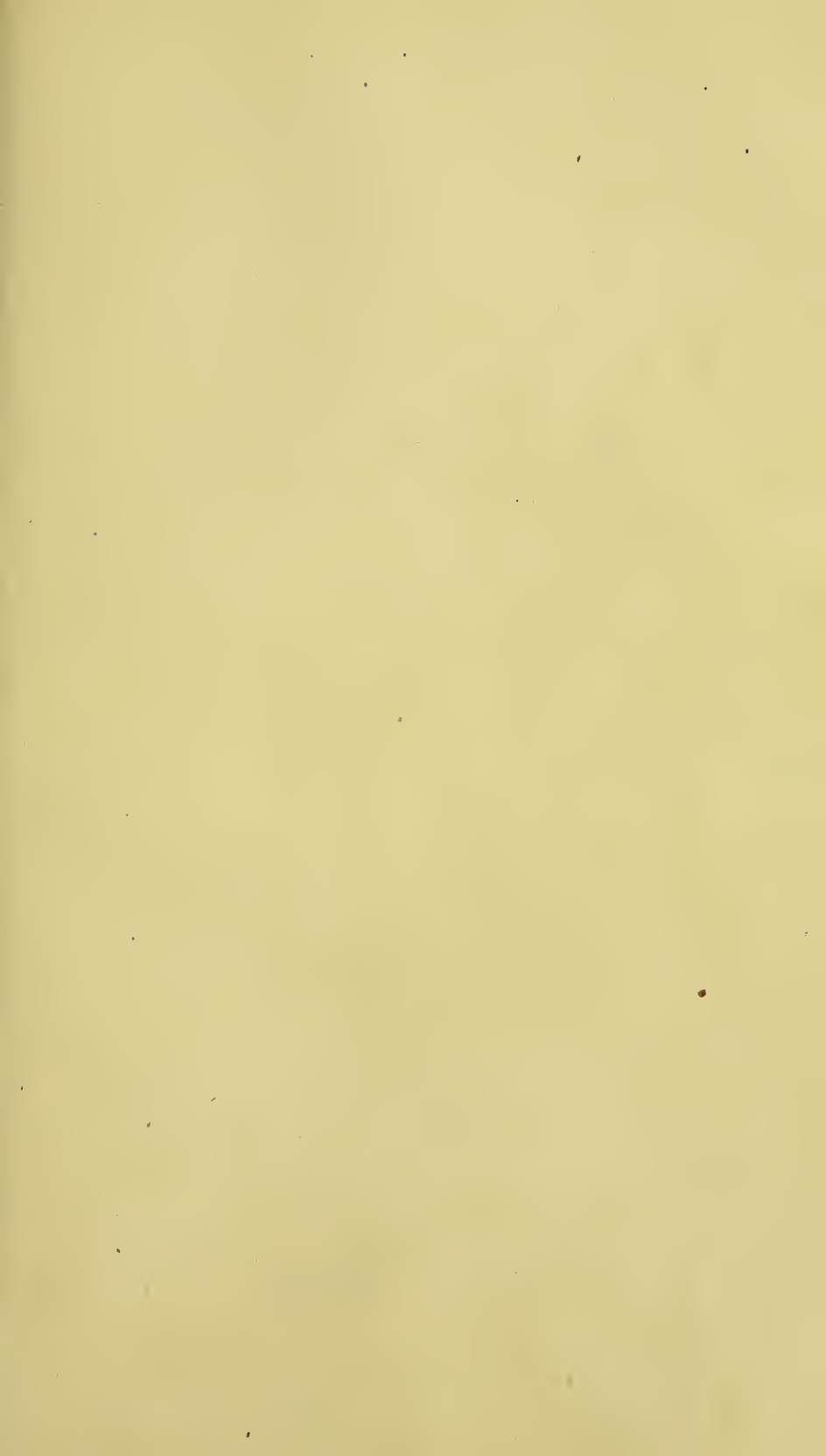




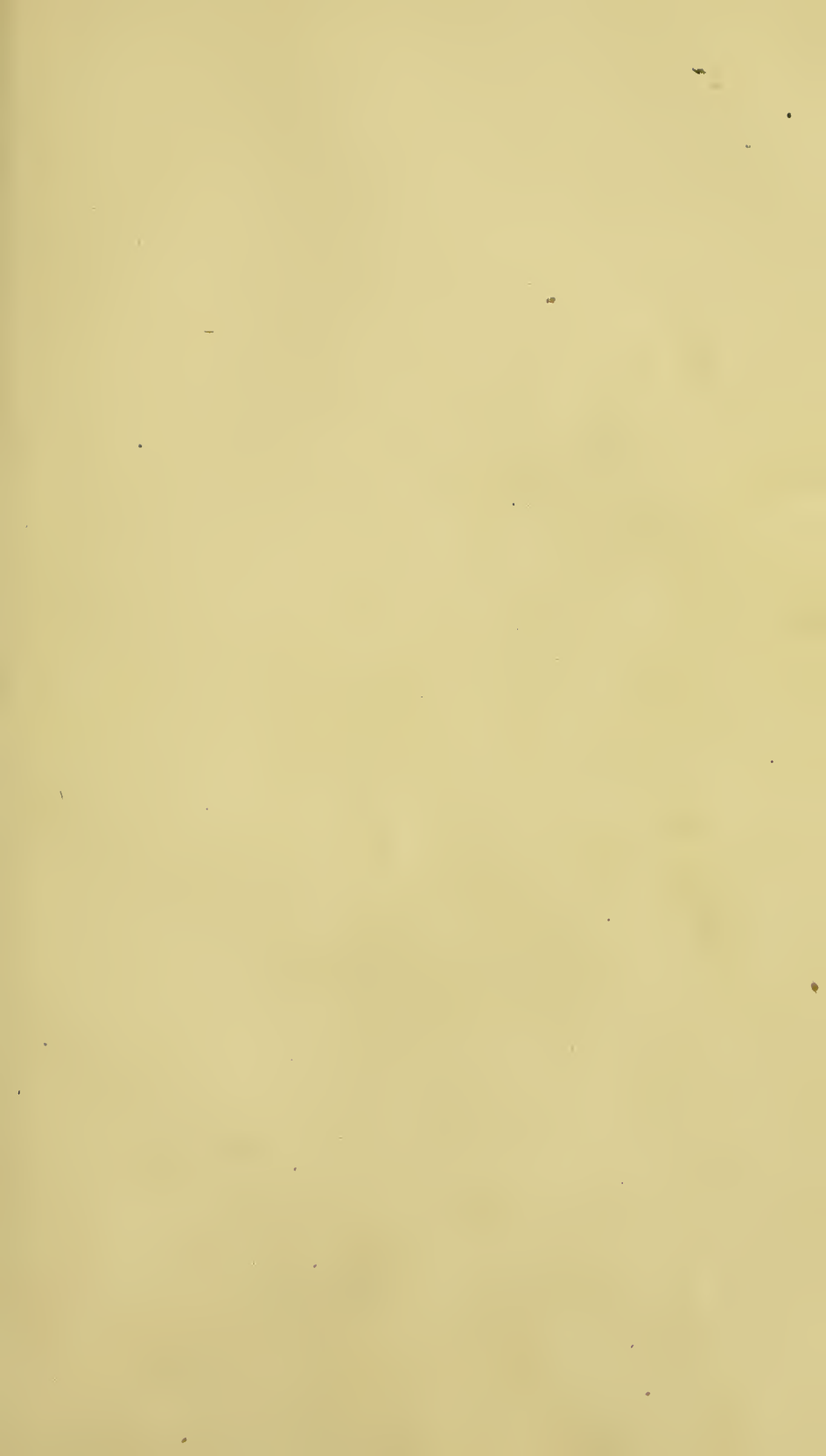




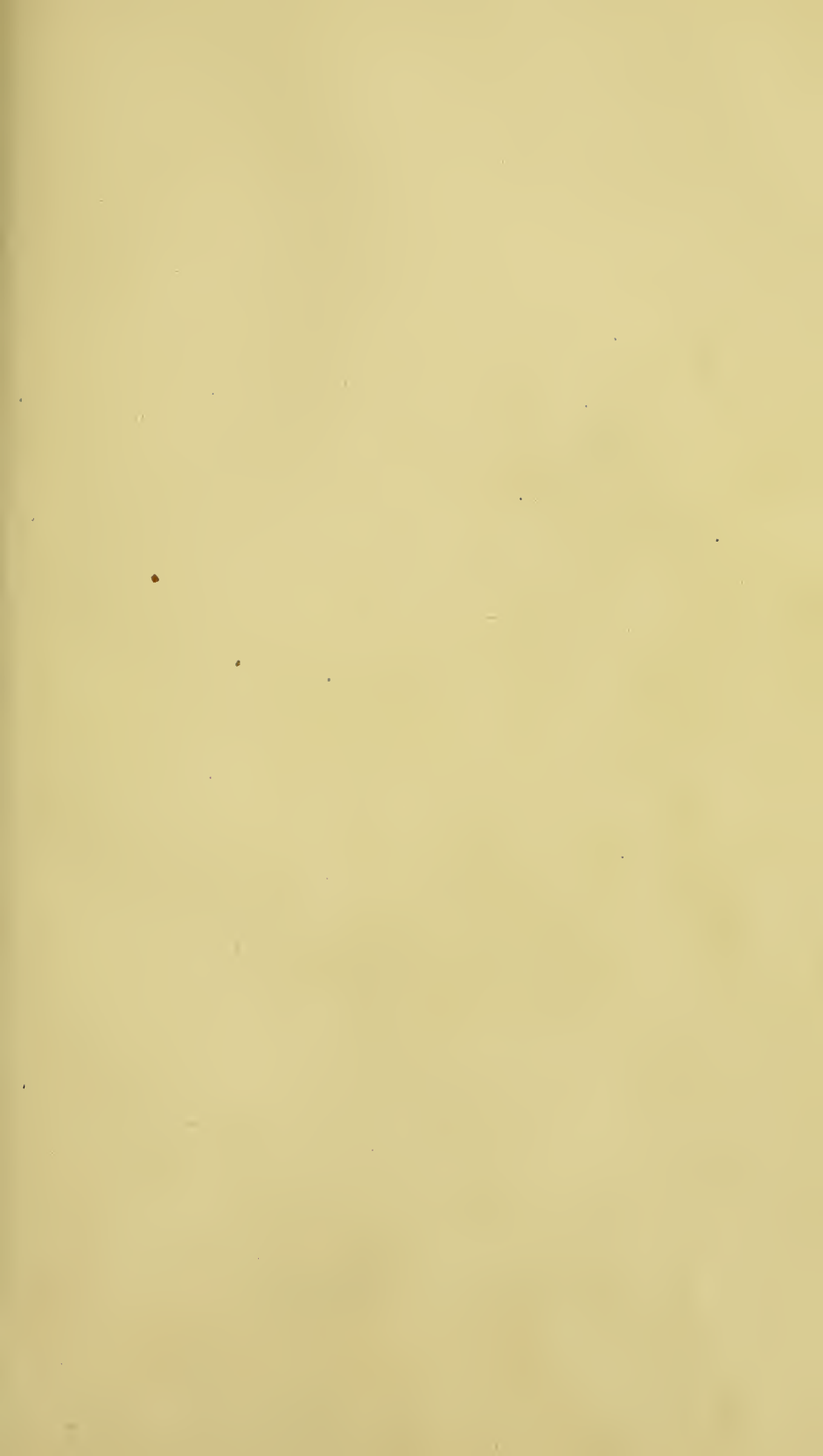


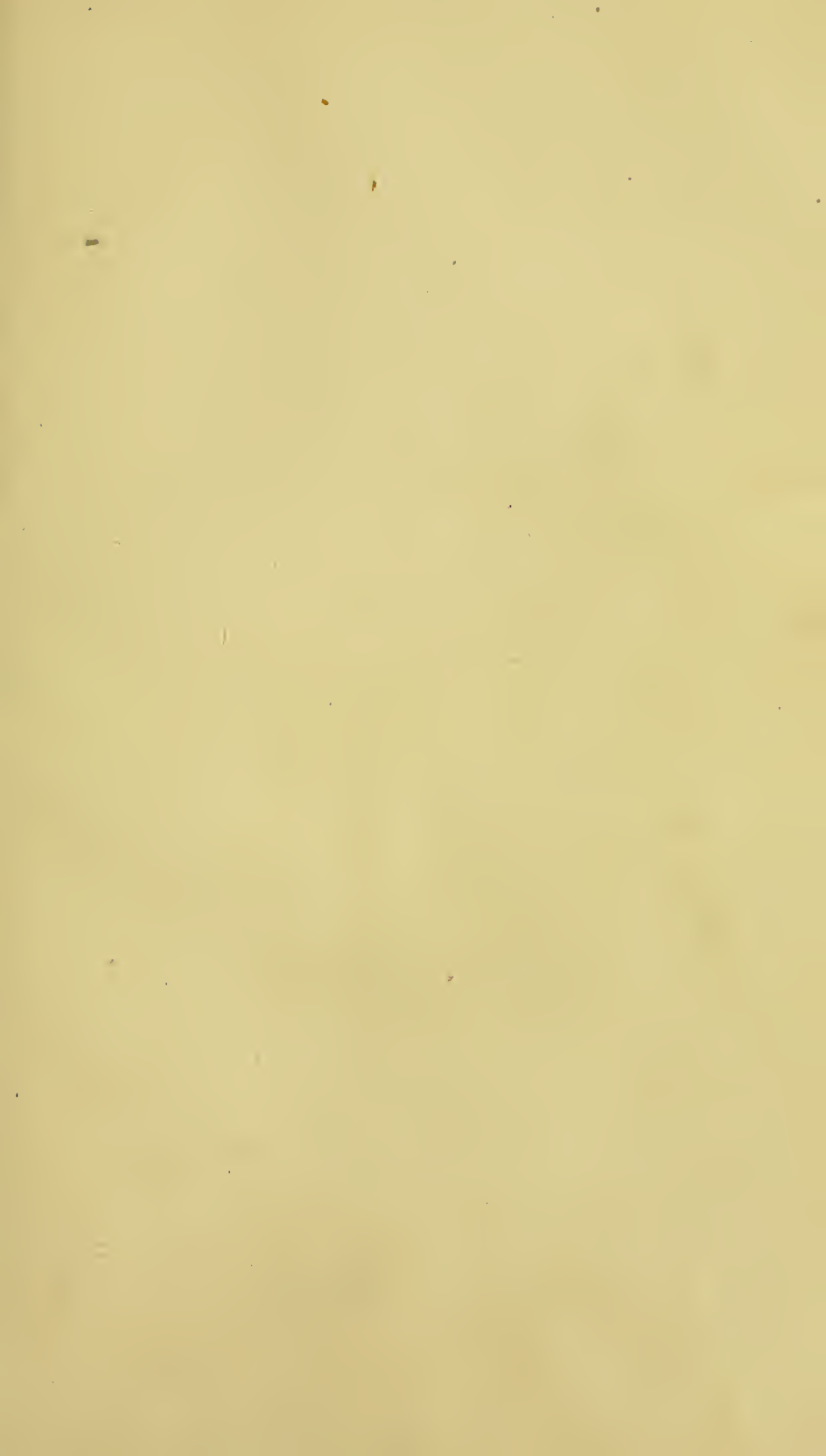














C 12 88

